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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 7, 1 April 1980

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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SPRINGTIME RETURNS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Li Xiangfu [2621 7449 3940] and Zheng Zuoliang [6774 0115 5328]]



CSO: 4004

ANSWER TO COMRADE SONG LIANG DATED 13 JULY 1941

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 pp 2-4

[Letter by Liu Shaoqi]

[Text] RED FLAG editor's note: Comrade Song Liang, alias Sun Yefang, worked at that time at the party school of the CCP Central China Bureau in north Jiangsu. He believed that there was a tendency within the party to belittle theoretical education during the Chen Duxiu period. He wrote to Comrade Liu asking his opinion on the matter. Comrade Shaoqi replied in the affirmative. His letter discussing theory was later published in issue No 2 of ZHENLI, a journal published by the CCP Central China Bureau. It noted the prevalence within the party of two erroneous views, "one placing undue stress on practice and belittling the importance of theory in guiding practice, and the other placing undue stress on theory and belittling the importance of practice and its superiority over theory. Both have failed to correctly establish the relationship between theory and practice." The letter noted a lack of facilities in the country for reviewing the theoretical work done within the party. To remedy the situation, it called for the study and comprehension of Marxist-Leninist theory and its integration with the laws governing the development of the history of Chinese society. Elaborating on this, the letter said: "Marxism-Leninism in its practical and viable aspect is embodied in men's social practice, rather than in the mysterious and abstract formulas which books provide." These assertions were fully in accord with the materialist ideological line espoused by Comrade Mao Zedong, who had dialectically advocated the integration of theory with practice and the need to uphold the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth.

Comrade Song Liang:

I have received your letter. You are correct in the views you have given.

In the early stage of the CCP--the Chen Duxiu period and afterward--some communists were against party members studying theory and conducting more comprehensive research on it, even in schools. There was strong opposition to those party members who devoted themselves to the assiduous study of theory like "academicians." There was a strong tendency in favor of trials in actual struggle. The view advocating practical experience and proven skill rather than profound theoretical research as the requirement for leading the revolution appeared to have prevailed. Those who supported this view believed that Marxist-Leninist theory could be mastered without having to make prolonged efforts to comprehend it. Persons who favored this view were thus opposed to those party members who belittled practice and upheld theoretical study divorced from practice. However, both views were wrong, because one placed undue stress on practice and belittled the importance of theory in guiding practice, while the other placed undue emphasis on theory and belittled the importance of practice and its superiority over theory. Both therefore failed to correctly establish the relationship between theory and practice.

When communists study theory in party schools, they do so to grasp theory and raise their theoretical level, rather than to cultivate and enhance themselves in school life (although this practical cultivation based on the study of theory is important in gradually transforming the ideology and concepts of party members). In schools students should apply themselves to book learning and the study of theory. They should not be called academicians because they are in school to study. But when party members do this in party schools, they also should not be identified with academicians, because communists are required to study Marxism-Leninism. Whoever has a good grounding in Marxism-Leninism had to undergo the stage of applying himself to study. Marx and Lenin were no exceptions. It was therefore wrong in the past to identify assiduous learners as academicians. It is particularly harmful to do so in schools.

The academicians refer to followers in Europe of philosophical tradition, Marxists who are divorced from practice. They belittle practice and never integrate it with theory. As a result, they have transformed Marxist theory into inflexible dogma which is incapable of guiding practice. This is wrong and should be opposed. Such people are still found in China among Marxists as well as communists. For example, some party members are not serious about the immediate and practical issue of organization, and they tend to ignore it. They regard these problems as not embodying Marxist-Leninist principles and therefore are not prepared to study and get something worthwhile out of them. Consequently, they are not concerned with these problems, nor are they as keen on finding solutions to the problems as they are in the study of "Das Kapital." They do not know (or have forgotten) that Marxist-Leninist teachings will be a guide for solving these problems.

Marxism-Leninism in all its practicality and vitality is embodied in such problems and in men's social practices, rather than in the mysterious and abstract formulas that books provide.

In the confrontation between the two views within the CCP at that time, the first view gained wide acceptance. There was strong opposition within the party to the study of theory, and as a result a higher theoretical level within the party was hampered. This must be corrected and opposed, because it is closely related to a general lack, even to this day, of the cultivation of theoretical study within our party. The effect on the party was indeed very serious, indicating that the correct idea of attaching equal importance to both theory and practice within the party at that time was not encouraged.

The CCP's spirit of upholding plain living and hard struggle and its readiness for sacrifice was not below that of the Russian Bolsheviks. That is why the CCP won recognition for its organizational work. In the organization of workers, peasants, government personnel and the armed forces for battle, as long as the mobilization was initiated by the party and grasped by party members, there were no tasks that could not be accomplished. For example, tens of thousands and even hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and troops could be mobilized for action on the battlefield. The CCP's ability to organize was considerable, while its spirit of making heroic sacrifice when necessary was also praiseworthy. Even the White Terror of decapitating hundreds of thousands of communists failed to deter our party members from abandoning the banner of Marxism-Leninism. With the exception of political groups affiliated with the communist parties, this demonstration of valor has not been surpassed by the political group of any other country. However, the CCP had one major weakness, that is, its deficiency and immaturity ideologically and theoretically. This was responsible for the setbacks suffered by the CCP in the past as a result of misdirection of things, not failures in accomplishing its work. Even now this weakness in theoretical cultivation has not been completely overcome (although a small number of comrades in the party, especially Central comrades, have comprehended Marxist-Leninist theory and the development of the history of Chinese society). It is therefore imperative that the study of theory within the party be promoted. As long as the CCP can overcome this drawback, it is capable of leading the Chinese revolution successfully.

Besides the CCP's inadequate theoretical preparation, there are other factors which are given below:

1. Marxist works were not introduced into China a long time ago (only a few of Marx' writings became available during the May 4th Movement). The dissemination of Marxism among European countries was begun nearly 100 years earlier.

2. When Marxist teachings were introduced into China, Chinese revolutionaries were urged to devote their efforts to conducting actual revolutionary activities. There was no time for taking up theoretical study or for summing up struggle experience (this trend still prevails today, as, for example, we do not have sufficient cadres engaged in doing day-to-day work who can be spared to devote themselves to the study of theory). After the founding of the CCP, it was almost immediately involved in actual revolutionary struggles. There was no time to do everything at once. This was one of the reasons the CCP was ill prepared for theoretical work. (However, it was different when the CCP was engaged in underground work for 10 years. There were facilities for the party to study theory, although it did not take advantage of the opportunity to overcome this weakness. This was, of course, a miscalculation due to the fact that insufficient attention was paid to the importance of theory, and there was an unduly vaunted assessment of the revolutionary situation at that time, although the new cultural movement espousing Marxism which had made significant contributions was encouraged by the party. However, the CCP failed to enhance its theoretical level or to regard it as one of the party's major tasks. Consequently, both the new cultural movement and many of its active participants displayed many inherent weaknesses, such as failing to integrate the movement and its participants with the CCP's practical experience. This resulted in confusion and lack of orientation among the writers of the time. This contributed to the failure to enhance the CCP's theoretical level.)

3. Since such revolutionary leaders as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were Europeans and not Chinese, their writings published in foreign languages made few references to China. Moreover, there was a difference in the development of social history as it occurred in China and in European countries. Thus, it was particularly difficult at that time to define Marxism in terms of Chinese concepts and to explain China's social practice and its guiding role with Marxist-Leninist principles. Even today, many of the writings attributed to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have not been translated into Chinese, while there are few communists who can read original Marxist and Leninist works. Even those who can do so rarely finish reading them. This has also affected the study of Marxist and Leninist works among Chinese communists. This is also one of the reasons the CCP was ill prepared for the study of theory.

It is because of these factors, particularly the CCP's lack of subjective initiative, that our party over the past 20 years has not been able to overcome the deficiency in theoretical cultivation, despite its abundant experience in actual struggles. We must spare no efforts to overcome this handicap.

The argument that the CCP has been ill prepared for theoretical cultivation embraces the comprehension of Marxist and Leninist principles and methods and their integration with the laws governing the development of the history of Chinese society. Overcoming this deficiency among a large number of communists will remain one of the CCP's major tasks.

This is my answer.

CSO: 4004

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION CANNOT BE DELAYED EVEN FOR A SINGLE DAY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 pp 5-7

[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] The momentum of China's economic construction in the first quarter of this year has been very good. Total output value of industry for the months of January and February was 15.2 percent higher than that in the corresponding period last year and profits handed over to the state were 13.4 percent higher. In addition, we succeeded in increasing production and income. The development of the rural situation has also been very good. This shows that the results are entirely different if we pay close attention to economic construction. Early this year the CCP Central Committee correctly pointed out that, beginning the first day of the first year of the 1980's, we could not delay even for a single day, but had to wholeheartedly concentrate all our attention on the four modernizations. This call of the party Central Committee was extremely timely. Now that the major policy for economic work and this year's target have been laid down, the key lies in paying attention to their implementation. Moreover, we must pay attention to producing results.

China must achieve the four modernizations within the present century. The task is formidable and the time short. The key link in the four modernizations is to make a success of economic construction. The key link in achieving the four modernizations is to develop the national economy, increase the income of all the people, gradually improve the livelihood of the people and correspondingly consolidate and strengthen national defense. At present the level of our economic development is still very low. To achieve this magnificent goal within 20 years, we must make every second count and redouble our efforts. The first 10 years are the most critical. If we make a success of our work in these 10 years and obtain definite results, there will be great hope of achieving the four modernizations. If not, there will be the danger of failure. Twenty years appears to be a long time, but if we do not grasp them, they will be over in a flash. Time that has gone by will never return. We must treasure time, eliminate various interferences and concentrate our energies on making a success of economic construction.

We must never waste our energy again. The decision of the 3d plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee to shift the focus o' the party's work to socialist modernization, primarily economic construction, is a great turning point. We must unite with people of various nationalities throughout the country, bring all positive factors into play, be of one heart and one mind, go all out, aim high and build a strong and modern socialist country with greater, faster, better and more economic results. This is the political line of the party in the new period. It requires that henceforth we carry out work centered on this key link of modernization and place ourselves in its service. We must be resolute and firmly grasp economic construction without letting go. Except for the outbreak of a large-scale war, we must not let anything interfere with or disturb this key link. We certainly must build poverty-stricken and backward China into a prosperous and powerful country.

Taking economic construction as the key link is easier said than done. This requires strategic foresight. In past fighting, everybody knew that it was best to use a large force to defeat a small one; however, many people failed to do so, often dividing their forces. What was the cause of this? Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The reason is that such military leaders have no head for strategy and are confused by complicated circumstances; hence, they are at the mercy of these circumstances, lose their initiative and have recourse to a passive response." This kind of condition also often appears in economic construction. Some say that this work is important and others say that that work is important. They all have their reasons. If you do not grasp them properly or if arrangements are not handled properly, the key link will be shifted.

To insure that economic construction is taken as the key link, we must learn the work method of playing the piano. Everybody can still remember that we had many things to do in the early period of liberation. To begin with, we had the agrarian reform, and later the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. However, we always regarded the restoration and development of production as the key task. If we had not done so at that time, we would never have been able to consolidate our position. At that time we only paid attention to the key work, but at the same time we also developed work in other fields centered on this key work. Practice proved that this art of leadership produced very good results. Some comrades did not master this method of work and often could not make up their minds or pay attention to the key link. They suffered from recourse to a passive response, which adversely affected work. In the first few months of last year some localities relaxed leadership over economic construction because they were busy with other work. Consequently, production in the first half of the year was unable to meet the demands of the state plan. This year we still face many tasks, such as studying and implementing the instructions of the Fifth NPC, making preparations for the 12th party congress, strengthening the party's organizational and ideological construction and invigorating socialist democracy and law. Naturally, all this work must be successfully carried

out. However, it must be centered on this key link of economic construction and the promotion of economic development. Party committees at various levels must resolutely observe this extremely important guiding principle in leadership work. Our aim in upholding and improving party leadership is to enable our party to concentrate its forces and lead China's socialist modernization in a better and more successful manner. How can we deviate from economic construction and carry out this work in isolation?

This is the second year of the implementation of the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. This is a critical year, and the tasks are heavy. In now saying that economic construction cannot be delayed even for a single day, we mean, above all, that we must not miss any opportunity to continue making a success of the work of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving. At present the proportionate relations of the national economy are not balanced, the economic management system does not conform to the development of socialized production and there still are obstacles that hinder the advance of economic construction. We must handle them conscientiously, adopt a positive attitude, formulate effective plans and gradually resolve them.

Readjustment is intended to better coordinate various aspects of social reproduction with various departments of the national economy. To achieve a comprehensive balance, some upward and downward readjustments are unavoidable. Therefore, we must have an overall concept and subordinate the parts to the whole. We should conscientiously readjust upward what should be so readjusted and also readjust downward what should be so readjusted. If work is active on the whole, work will also be active in the parts. This is the superiority of our socialist economic system. Readjusting and restructuring the economic management system are closely related and promote each other. Without suitable restructuring, readjusting will run into difficulties. Without readjusting, it will be difficult to carry out major restructuring. Judging from the present, readjusting is still the key link. If we do not readjust the serious imbalance in the proportionate relations, it will be very difficult for the whole national economy to sustain its high-speed development.

Everybody agrees with the policy of the CCP Central Committee on readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving. The question lies in taking action. Since last year some provinces and municipalities have achieved rather striking results in this direction, mainly because these provincial and municipal party committees have shown greater determination, taken faster action and been able to creatively carry out work in accordance with the policies of the Central Committee in the light of actual conditions in their own localities. Readjusting and restructuring entail very complicated and painstaking work involving various departments of the national economy and penetrating various sectors of social economic life. Of course, we cannot make a success of this work by

merely relying on books, nor is it enough to rely on one's own experiences. To enable our ideological understanding to catch up with the development of the situation, we must make up our minds to change our style of leadership and method of work. We must take big steps, go deep into reality, carry out investigations, listen to the views of the people and gain firsthand information before we can promptly investigate the new conditions and solve the problems appearing in actual work. Practice has repeatedly proved that as long as we study the history and condition of a thing there naturally will also be a way of solving it.

Although the economic situation has been better in the first quarter of this year, there definitely cannot be any slackening of current production. We must continue to strengthen party leadership, make a success of organizing and dispatching work, coordinate the relations of various sectors and strive to fulfill and overfulfill the targets of the national economy this year. Agriculture must continue to conscientiously implement the two documents of the Central Committee regarding agriculture, investigate new conditions and solve problems in implementing the documents, and strive for an all-round increase in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries. With a great deal of funds and loans having been put into light and textile industries this year, we must use them properly and do our best to produce fast results. The State Economic Commission has advanced the principle of giving light and textile industries "six kinds of priority," which we must put into effect everywhere and implement to the letter. We must not elbow them aside the moment there is a shortage of electricity or raw materials. Heavy industry must continue to properly carry out readjustments to better serve agriculture (including industrial equipment for communes and production brigades and building materials for the countryside), light industry, the domestic market and exports. While fulfilling output plans, heavy industry must at the same time achieve remarkable success in improving product quality, increasing standard varieties and lowering maintenance costs. There must also be a major development in the production of durable consumer goods. All professions and trades must pay great attention to increasing production and practicing economy, opening avenues, developing sources of revenue and increasing production and income. Each enterprise must conscientiously practice economic accounting in all its production and business activities, properly analyze its economic activities, use its income to cover outlays, increase profits and supply more accumulation for the state. At present the management of some departments and enterprises is chaotic, with waste being quite appalling. Consumption of materials is high, labor efficiency low and product quality poor. There are many channels of circulation, turnover is slow and products are overstocked. These departments and enterprises appear to be carrying out construction but actually are wasting time in economic construction. What a terrible thing it would be if we did not go in for restructuring! All localities and departments must make the greatest efforts to resolutely advance production, use every means to practice economy, economize on expenditures,

strive to balance income and expenses and try to produce a profit. Some of our localities and departments hold too many and too lengthy meetings and pay more attention to formalities than to actual results. There is a flood of documents and reports, and work is inefficient. All these things consume a great deal of our energy. If we want to concentrate our forces and pay attention to economic construction, we must adopt drastic measures to improve our style of work and overcome the bureaucratic style of work.

It is not an abstract slogan to say that economic construction cannot be delayed even for a single day. Economic construction can be realized only if party committees and government organs at various levels strengthen concrete leadership and if all enterprises, business units and rural communes and production brigades make a success of their production management activities. Some comrades hold that it does not make much difference if the production and construction under their charge are delayed a bit, since this will not affect the general situation. This way of thinking is incorrect. Our national economy is an organic whole made up of various enterprises, business units and rural communes and production brigades. Any enterprise or department that cannot fulfill its own production task will create problems for other units and affect the whole economic construction. There can be delays in agricultural production, since it is closely interrelated with such natural conditions as seasons and climate. Sometimes the delay of a single day of production will have an effect on the whole year's harvest. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. If agricultural production cannot be increased, the overall situation of the national economy is bound to be affected. Therefore, paying attention to economic construction must begin with each and every department, enterprise, business unit, commune, production brigade, staff member and commune member. We must mobilize and organize the masses and concentrate their energy and wisdom on economic construction. Our slogan of action is "Begin with me and begin now."

We are fully confident of realizing the four modernizations. The 3d and 5th plenums of the 11th CCP Central Committee affirmed the correct political, ideological and organizational lines, restored the party's fine traditions and style of work and further developed the political situation of stability and unity. As long as we continue to uphold and improve party leadership, leading members at various levels will conscientiously implement the line, policies and principles of the CCP Central Committee and concentrate their energy on making a success of the four modernizations in a sustained manner without any slackening, and the cause of our economic construction will certainly develop vigorously and become more prosperous each day.

IN CONDUCTING AGROTECHNICAL TRANSFORMATION WE SHOULD PAY ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC RESULTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 pp 8-10, 13

[Article by Zhu Decao (4554 1795 2347)]

(Text) The goal of transforming China's agriculture and realizing the modernization of agriculture is twofold: To increase the production of various agricultural products and fully satisfy the needs of the national economy and the people's livelihood; and to increase the income of the peasants, improve their life and reduce the disparity between urban and rural areas and between industry and agriculture. To achieve the above goal, while carrying out economic reform and adopting certain technical measures, we must judge in the light of the economy whether we can succeed in producing more and better agricultural products with less waste and more speed and in creating more value.

Mechanization of Agriculture Must Contribute to Increasing Production and Income

China has a huge population and little land, each person having an average of only 1.57 mu of cultivated land. The world average is 4.8 mu per capita. Canada has 26.8 mu and the United States 14.6. These figures are from several to over ten times more than we have. China's countryside has a labor force of 300 million, with each laborer on the average being responsible for only 5 mu of cultivated land. In general, except during the busy season in farming there is no shortage of labor. Therefore, the study, trial development and popularization of a type of farm machinery not only must improve work efficiency but also must contribute to increasing output, particularly in areas of high-density population. In some places such as Shanghai, Xijiang and Jiangsu the phenomenon of commune members taking turns at working has already appeared, because these places have more labor power and little farmland and because some of the communes and production brigades have not properly developed a diversified economy. Under such conditions, the focus of the mechanization of agriculture should be on studying the development of a diversified economy, improving the output of agricultural products and increasing

the income of the peasants. Instead of insisting on total mechanization from sowing to harvesting, we must stress the study of mechanization for rush harvesting and planting during the busy farming season. This should hinge on farmwork. In the future, when the national economy is developed, all avenues of production are opened and there is an outlet for labor, the level of mechanization will gradually be raised, and the whole process of mechanization will gradually be realized. If the question of outlets for labor is not solved and the income of the peasants cannot increase, then even though the efficiency of a machine is very high and labor intensity can be greatly reduced, the peasants will also be unwilling to use it. This is the reason for the slow popularization of the rice transplanter in China. The Xingang Production Brigade of Wangji Commune in Xinzhou County, Hubei Province, has six sets of rice transplanters. Compared with manual transplanting, machine transplanting can save 7,760 laborers but will cost 12,000 yuan more. On the average, for every laborer saved, the cost is 1.57 yuan more. The local wage for a laborer is about 70 to 80 cents. This also means that, although the rice transplanters may save labor, the depreciation, repair and maintenance and fuel cost more, so that the peasants do not receive any benefit. Moreover, the laborers saved do not necessarily have any work to do and are therefore not enthusiastic about using rice transplanters. This is also the case in the suburban areas of Shanghai, which have more than 26,000 sets of rice transplanters. Out of respect for the rights of the production brigades to make their own decisions, the upper level last year did not specify the area for machine transplanting. Consequently, rice transplanters were basically not used for the early-season rice. The commune members said: "Yes, machine transplanting is good, for we do not need to bend over. However, we do not get any workpoints, and the production brigade must also pay for fuel and repairs. Although manual transplanting is hard work, the workpoints and income are ours. We farmers depend on workpoints for a living. As long as we are not behind schedule, we would rather carry out transplanting by hand. Although the work is hard, we nevertheless can increase our income." Again, the depth of the furrows plowed with hand-guided tractors is somewhat the same as that plowed with draft animals and manpower. Thus, there is no marked increase in production. For the sake of reducing expenses, some vegetable-growing areas in the suburbs of Shanghai have put aside their hand-guided tractors and used draft animals and even manpower to plow the land. These cases merit our close attention.

Capitalist countries are very particular about economic results in the mechanization of agriculture and have to see whether it is profitable. Marx profoundly pointed out: "For the capitalist, machinery is used only if there is a great difference between the cost of the machinery and the cost of the labor power it replaces." ("Das Kapital," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 431) The reason some capitalist countries quickly popularized the mechanization of agriculture and swiftly developed research was that there were shortages of labor and it was more worthwhile and cheaper to use machinery instead of manpower. In the early part of the 1960's in Japan, large numbers of peasants left the countryside for

the city because of the enormous amount of labor needed by the rapid development of industry. This caused a shortage of labor in the countryside and speeded up the mechanization of agriculture. In the process some farms and peasant households were pushed aside by machinery, annexed or broken up. Ours is a socialist country in which the working people run their own affairs. We cannot measure the advantage of using machinery on the basis of a single enterprise. For example, by using advanced farm machinery a state farm can save a great deal of labor and raise its labor productivity; from the standpoint of this farm the use of machinery is advantageous. However, if we cannot give full play to the labor saved and cannot open avenues of production or advance on production in breadth and scope, and if the state must still pay wages as usual, then it is definitely not advantageous on the whole. Therefore, we must measure from the angle of society as a whole and carry out comprehensive analysis to determine whether output and net income have increased.

All Reforms Must Strive for Actual Results

In the modernization of agriculture, all reforms must strive for actual results. We must guard against seeking only figures and indices and going in for formalities. For example, in reforming the cultivation system we must proceed from realities in a manner suited to local conditions and not seek uniformity in everything. A few years ago some localities ignored concrete conditions and arbitrarily popularized double-crop early-maturing rice and the triple-cropping system. Practice has proved this to be wrong, since conditions vary from one place to another. For example, some of the production brigades of Qingpu and Songjiang in Shanghai are short of labor but have ample land. After they completely converted to double-crop early-maturing rice, there was only about 2 weeks between the rush harvesting of the early-maturing rice and the rush transplanting of the after-crop rice. When labor is extremely short, the time required for field operations is often prolonged and output is seriously affected. Naturally, all places should not change to planting single-crop rice. We should comprehensively weigh and decide on whether to plant double-crop or single-crop rice and whether to have double cropping or triple cropping based on such concrete conditions as geography, climate, soil, labor, fertilizer and variety in order to obtain the best results in increasing production and income.

In the mechanization of agriculture we cannot one-sidedly go for 100-percent mechanization. In the past, to seek a certain degree of mechanization, some localities apportioned to the production teams farm machinery that was still being trial developed. For example, they produced large numbers of manual rice transplanters still under development and testing and sold them to the production teams. They produced quite a number of motorized rice transplanters before the design was finalized. After transplanting, a few of these machines which had been bought by the peasants broke down. Not only was production affected, but economic losses were also incurred. This increased the burdens on the peasants.

The construction of water conservancy works contributes to overcoming drought, waterlogging and disasters and to increasing output. However, we must also proceed from reality and strive for actual results. Some localities have set their standards too high and have dug canals more than 10 meters wide and 500 to 600 meters apart. As a matter of fact, we should study whether so many canals are needed. Some places still go in for form and appearance. They do not make use of existing canals but open new ones by digging up a great deal of cultivated land. Some fill them up after they have been dug, and some dig them again after filling them up, thus wasting a great deal of land in the process. This is really a pity. Our cultivated land is very valuable. In constructing water conservancy works we must make use of and transform the original canals as much as possible. If we can manage without opening a new canal, we should avoid doing so. Even if we have to open a new canal, we must insist that it be very straight and take up as little cultivated land as possible. To avoid wasting land we must also not build new villages and residential centers. In short, all reforms and construction carried out should take the economic factor into account, proceed from reality and strive for actual results.

Introduction of Foreign Equipment and Technology Must Also Take the Economic Factor Into Account

To carry out the modernization of agriculture we must introduce advanced equipment and technology from abroad to increase the tempo of modernization of China's agriculture. However, we must also take the economic factor into account and strive for economic results. Agricultural production has a strong regional character, and natural conditions vary in every country. Therefore, in introducing foreign equipment and technology we must insure that they are suited to conditions in our country. In modernizing its agriculture Japan started out by introducing large-scale agricultural machinery from England and the United States. This proved unsuitable except in Hokkaido. Later, Japan changed its policy by tapping and popularizing its own improved varieties of rice and cultivation techniques in a big way, made increased use of fertilizers, studied pedology and agricultural chemistry and took the road of biochemical improvement. Agricultural machinery also established a foothold in Japan. The Japanese studied and invented tilling machines, small-scale combine harvesting machines and small rice transplanters for transplanting seedlings with the soil attached. This resulted in a big increase in the single rice crop in Japan, which became one of the world's high-yield rice-producing countries. Natural conditions in China are complicated. Our land resources are rich, regional differences are great and cultivation systems and techniques vary. This is why we cannot mechanically apply the existing experiences of other countries but must set store in relying on our own efforts. The introduction of advanced equipment from abroad is mainly for reference and for improving our ability to rely on our own efforts. We must even more set store in our research and creation. We must especially not neglect summing up the inventions and

discoveries of the masses. Much agricultural machinery, such as the rice extractor and rice transplanter of Shanghai, have been trial-developed by summing up the inventions and discoveries of the skillful craftsmen in the countryside. In introducing and studying foreign techniques and experiences we must proceed from realities in China and comprehensively judge whether such techniques and experiences are advantageous. We cannot apply them mechanically. For example, Japan uses plastic-covered sheds to grow vegetables. This is an advanced experience for guaranteeing winter supplies. The climate of Shanghai is warm, and many varieties of vegetable are grown in winter. There is no need for so many large sheds. However, because we did not make careful observations and studies, in 1978 we copied the experience of Japan and immediately built several hundred large plastic-covered sheds. Because of the high cost, prices were very high. Many people came to see but very few people bought. Those who did lost money.

Use Machines To Strive for Economic Results

We must fully bring the role of machines and equipment into play. Marx said: "A machine which does not serve the purposes of labor is useless. In addition, it falls prey to the destructive influence of natural forces. Iron rusts and wood rots." ("Das Kapital," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 207) We should make maximum use of modern machines and equipment so that they can fully bring their role into play. At present we should mainly solve the three following questions.

First, we must avoid fruitless investments. Since the climate, soil and cultivation system in various parts of China are different, agricultural machinery also has its regional character. Agricultural machinery suitable for use in the north may not be suitable for the south. For example, the caterpillar-type, large horsepower heavy tractor cannot function efficiently in some parts of the south. The seeder which distinguished itself in the northeast has no room to display its prowess in some parts of the south. If the machines purchased are not suitable for the locality, they become fruitless investments and a waste of money. Apart from this, agricultural machinery and tools must be linked in a set before they can bring their parts into play. At present the amount of agricultural machinery not linked in a set is very conspicuous. For example, the large and medium-sized tractors have no trailers and cannot be used for transport during the slack season in farming. Another fruitless investment is the excessive number of tractors. Take Shanghai County, for example. It has 618 large and medium-sized tractors, more than 2,400 hand-guided ones and one Fengshou-35 tractor. A tractor working two shifts a day can till 50 mu of land. If we take the busy period of the three autumn tasks to be 20 days, then each tractor can till 1,000 mu of land; 618 tractors can till 618,000 mu of land. However, Shanghai County has a total of only 412,000 mu of land, so there is obviously a surplus of tractors. When the number of hand-guided tractors is included, the surplus is even greater. Too many tractors will increase maintenance

costs and driver wages and make the commune members' burdens heavier. It can be seen that the number of machines and tools should be suitably allocated. This is not a case of the more, the better.

Secondly, we must set up a rational form of management. An important question in the management and administration of agricultural machinery is who owns the machinery and how it is used. This will have a powerful effect on improving the efficiency of utilization of agricultural machinery. At present all production teams are thinking of buying their own machinery so that "they need not ask a favor of anyone." This administrative method cannot give full play to the efficiency of the agricultural machinery and will result in great waste. Agricultural machinery is a modern means of production requiring high-level technology and great production ability. It must work in coordination with such conditions as fuel supply and machine maintenance before it can fully bring its role into play. It is best to place the machines under unified management and use, for this will facilitate maintenance and repair and comprehensive utilization and improve efficiency. It will also be convenient for the drivers and mechanics to exchange experiences and raise their technical levels. Based on conditions in Shanghai, large and medium-sized tractors are best managed by the communes and hand-guided ones by the production brigades. Toward the end of 1978, only 31.6 percent of the large and medium-sized tractors of various counties in the suburbs of Shanghai were managed by the communes and only 39.3 percent of the hand-guided ones by the production teams. Due to the fact that the large and medium-sized tractors were scattered among the production brigades and the hand-guided ones among the production teams, not only could they not fully bring the role of the machines and tools into play, but because of the weak technical forces of the production brigades and teams and the poor quality of repairs there were many breakdowns. Maintenance costs were high, the quality of operations was poor and losses were very serious. In Shanghai County alone the management of agricultural machinery lost more than 3 million yuan in 1978. This means that the commune members had to shoulder an average loss of more than 8 yuan apiece.

Thirdly, we must strengthen management and administration. At present the amount of agricultural machinery in China is already very large. In 1978 we already had 557,000 large and medium-sized tractors and 1.37 million hand-guided tractors. However, because of the poor quality of some of these machines, the delay in getting spare parts, the bad management and administration and the inability of maintenance work to catch up, an average of only 70 percent of the tractors have been in good working order. The large number of tractors that have not been used has resulted in very great waste.

Experience has proved that if management is not strengthened we will be unable to make full use of agricultural machinery. At present many agricultural machinery depots have no operational instructions, no consumption

quotas, no procedures for obtaining materials and no work systems. There is no separate accounting for each machine, and all "eat from the same big pot." Consequently, there is oil spillage everywhere, spare parts are tossed about, costs increase yearly and losses are incurred every year. According to the 1978 statistics for 89 commune-run agricultural machinery depots in the suburbs of Shanghai, the average amount of work completed per horsepower was 187.3 standard mu, or only 93.6 percent of that demanded by the Ministry of Agriculture. As for places without agricultural machinery depots and with tractors scattered among various production teams, the amount of work completed was even less. Due to bad management, operation costs were high and engine troubles frequent. In 1978 there was an average of 5.5 major accidents for every commune in the suburbs of Shanghai. Economic losses alone reached 230,000 yuan. This effectively proves that we must strengthen leadership as well as management and administration.

In short, only if we take the economic factor into account, pay attention to economic accounting and strive for economic results can we do more work with less money, produce more agricultural products and increase the income of the peasants. Only in this way can the tempo of agricultural modernization be increased.

CSO: 4004

A TALK ON TECHNICAL ECONOMY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 pp 11-13

[Article by Wang Enkui [3769 1869 7608]]

[Text] At present the whole party and people of the whole country are responding positively to the call of the party Central Committee and concentrating their attention and energy on putting the four modernizations into effect. As for how our national economy should be readjusted in order to solve as speedily as possible the large number of problems left to us by the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," to quickly raise our labor productivity and to obtain better economic results, this involves a large number of technical questions. Hence, in the course of our modernization we should include development of the study of technical economy as a regular item of work for our economic departments and enterprises at the various levels.

Technical economics is a science; it is a subject which falls between natural science and social science and is also a developing science. The function of technical economics is mainly to calculate, compare, analyze and appraise the economic results of technical measures and technical programs and thereby furnish a scientific basis for the technical measures and programs adopted, and technical policies carried out, in our production and construction. Studying technical economy well may help us select technical measures and programs that are technically advanced and economically rational and also carry out correct technical policies and thereby avoid certain blindness. Studying technical economy well may likewise help us obtain greater economic results with same amount of labor consumption or the same economic results with a smaller amount of labor consumption.

The content of problems pertaining to technical economy is very broad; a large number of problems pertaining to technical economy exists without exception in such departments and enterprises as economic management, agricultural production, industrial construction, communications and transportation and capital construction. It may be said that wherever there are activities of production and management there always are

problems pertaining to technical economy. In the case of industrial departments, for example, there is a need to study problems pertaining to technical economy in undertakings ranging from the formulation of plans for the development of production and construction to product designing, from the adoption of new technology and new craftsmanship to production management, as well as in all aspects and stages of similar undertakings.

1. Problems pertaining to technical economy in construction plans. To handle well the work pertaining to technical economy at the planning stage is an important link in the smooth execution of economic construction. Planning is the advance work before investment in construction. If plan targets are fixed properly, comprehensive balance is handled carefully and development is coordinated between various trades, departments and localities, then the entire economic construction program is likely to move forward along a healthy path. We therefore should pay very great attention to the study of problems pertaining to technical economy in the planning stage. Planning work may generally be divided into a macroscopic and a microscopic stage. A macroscopic plan is a long-term or a medium-term plan; that is to say, it covers problems concerning the overall situation of development in a country, a department or a district during a given period, such as the target level to which the economy will develop, the yearly rate of development, the ratio between internal and external development, the deployment of labor power, etc. Only with such a plan is it possible to mobilize and organize the departments and enterprises concerned and the masses of people to actively struggle for the realization and advance realization of the targets prescribed by the plan and to enable economic construction to develop in a sustained manner. Conversely, in the absence of such a plan there is no scheme to go by in the minds of those in leading departments; if they discover problems in one trade this year, they will emphasize the development of this trade, and if they discover that another unit is falling behind, next year they will emphasize paying attention to that unit. This is bound to make them attend to one thing while missing another in a strenuous but confused state of operations. A microscopic plan is a plan for a given project. To build a factory it is first necessary to survey the needs of society (the market), study the scale of the factory and the speed of construction, calculate the amount of investment and source of capital and study and specify product design and technical line. After this, a feasibility study must be made to provide forecasts and analyses of production cost, sale price and profit. After such analyses and a conclusion that such a project is both needed and feasible, there is further need to carry out a series of investigations and studies concerning, for instance, what the temperature situation is, how much rainfall there is and whether the hydrography and the quality of the soil satisfy demands? Where is the source of raw materials and fuels and how are they to be transported? How can the transportation distance be shortened and costs minimized? How can we solve the questions of power and water supplies and can they be guaranteed?

Where will we obtain parts and accessories subject to coordinated production for final assembly? What are their costs? How are products from given plants to be distributed? etc., etc. On all of these questions, several alternative technical schemes must be plotted, so that analyses and comparisons can be made and the best scheme selected--that is, so that the ideal scheme which requires the least investment and the least time to put into operation and which yields economic benefits quickly may be selected. Sometimes a microscopic plan and a macroscopic plan may run into conflict, with the undertaking looking feasible from the viewpoint of the part but not from the viewpoint of the whole. In that case it is necessary to start from the whole situation, carry out comprehensive analyses and thereby define a reasonable scheme. When a scheme is reasonable, the actual construction will yield more, faster, better and more economical results; otherwise, the outcome will be a waste of manpower, materials and financial resources. In the case of many of our construction projects, work cannot proceed normally; it sometimes goes and sometimes stops, with the desired productive capability failing to take shape for long periods of time. Sometimes the projects are even forced to close down, with a resulting pure waste of capital in the millions, tens of millions and even hundreds of millions. Sometimes projects are completed but cannot be put into regular production, with resulting long-range losses. All this has a great deal to do with improper planning work.

2. Problems pertaining to technical economy in product design. To make constant progress an enterprise must maintain the quality of its products. Only thus will it be able to establish its credibility and reputation, possibly enter the international market and develop a competitive capability. To achieve all this it must do all it can to design products which are technically advanced, reasonably priced and welcomed by the consumers. To put it in the simplest way, it must employ the most economical method to produce products which are the best and which are welcomed by the consumers. For this purpose it must constantly analyze its products and compare them with other advanced products at home and abroad, find the reason for possible differences and formulate measures to effect improvements accordingly. In general, our industrial products are still very backward. For over 10 years there has been little improvement in our old products, and the development of new products has also been rather slow. Take motor vehicles, for example: in the case of those produced by the industrially developed countries, their weight has continued to decrease, their load capacity has continued to increase and their fuel consumption has become lower and lower. In the case of trucks of medium tonnage (4 to 5 tons), their weight is only 2.5 to 3 tons. But in the case of such medium-tonnage trucks produced by us today, their weight and their load capacity are roughly in a 1:1 ratio; compared with similar products of the advanced type in the international market, we consume more than 1 ton more steel material for every truck produced. If our products can attain the international advanced level, then a plant with a yearly production of 60,000 trucks will be able to save 90,000 tons

of steel material each year. Fuel consumption is also an important problem of technical economy in car design. Many automobile companies abroad are striving to increase the engine's thermal efficiency while reducing fuel consumption. But fuel consumption of cars we produce is 35-55 percent higher than that of advanced products of the same type in the international market. How to design cars for manufacturing by the most economical method whose weight is light, whose load capacity is good and whose fuel consumption is low is therefore an important problem to be solved by the automobile industry through the study of technical economy.

3. Problems pertaining to technical economy in new technology, new craftsmanship and new equipment. Under the condition of the still rather weak foundation of our industry, how to adopt new technology, new craftsmanship and new equipment as rapidly as possible to replace the original technology and original equipment is an important question pertaining to technical economy which should attract our attention. Facts prove that the adoption of new technology or new craftsmanship is often capable of greatly raising labor productivity and achieving tremendous economic results. Ample use of automated production lines and the adoption of advanced technical equipment are important indicators of the development of machine-building industries in the industrially developed countries today. In countries like the United States and Britain there are more than 5,000 automated production lines; in our country there are only 200-300 such lines. To raise the level of our automation and mechanization as rapidly as possible is thus an important task placed before us. The ways and means of carrying out mechanization and automation by different trades under different conditions should of course be different. As for what level of mechanization and automation should be adopted, consideration must be given to the question of whether it is economically rational; this requires that we carry out analyses and studies of technical economy to determine a rational approach to automation and mechanization and thereby achieve ideal results. In a factory or workshop, for example, we should give priority to the question of which processes and production lines will serve to overcome the weak links in the production program and significantly increase the quantity and raise the quality of products. If, on the other hand, an attempt to automate would not only fall short of achieving the aforesaid goals but also incur increased costs, such automation should not be adopted. To improve the technological level of our production as expeditiously as possible we need to import and purchase some new technology and advanced equipment from abroad. But what technology and equipment should we import and purchase? How should we import it? And where should we purchase it? All this also requires that we carry out down-to-earth studies of such problems pertaining to technical economy, so that we spend less foreign exchange and achieve greater economic results.

4. Problems pertaining to technical economy in respect to organization and management of production. Organizing the coordination of specialized productive operations is a definite trend in modern large-scale production

and an important way of developing production. Adoption of specialized large-scale production is likely to significantly improve labor productivity, raise the quality of products and reduce the cost of products. In the industrially developed countries, coordination of specialized productive operations has already reached a very high degree of development and results in great production efficiency. But the modes of production of our industrial enterprises today are mostly "small but complete" or "big and complete" in their respective ways, so that their output is low, the quality of their products is inadequate, their costs are high and their waste is extravagant. Our output of automobiles is very low, with a yearly production of only slightly more than 100,000 for the whole country. But there are more than 100 automobile manufacturing plants, and this number, in proportion to their total output, can be said to be the greatest in the entire world. Of these plants, only a few have a yearly production of more than 1,000 automobiles; most of them produce less than 1,000 a year, or even less than 100 a year. Because of such a small production volume, not only is the production technology backward and the quality of the products inadequate, but the cost of the products is high and labor productivity very low. The 8-ton heavy trucks produced by some of these plants, when compared with trucks of the same type produced by the Jinan Automobile Plant, have 20 percent less horsepower, use 20 percent more gasoline and incur 25 percent higher costs. It is our understanding that in the industrially developed countries each automobile worker produces, on the average, 10 automobiles each year, and in Japan this average happens to be 12.9 automobiles. In our automobile industry an average of 2.5 workers is necessary to produce just one automobile each year, and at plants with a yearly production of less than 5,000 automobiles a year, five workers are required to produce one automobile. Compared with the world's advanced level, the gap is very great. If we organized the automobile plants of the entire country, planned their operations in a unified way and coordinated specialized productive operations, it would be possible for us to convert the small-scale production to medium-scale or large-scale production; there would then be a great change in the outlook of our automobile industry. But what form of coordination of specialized productive operations should we adopt? How can we give full play to the role of core plants? How can we better organize the numerous local automobile plants and subsume them under unified planning so as to avoid blindness and also give full play to the enthusiasm of these plants? What form of management and economical methods should be adopted? What type of industrial companies should be instituted? On all these various programs we must conduct analyses pertaining to technical economy, and only thus will it be possible for us to realize them in a planned and orderly way.

To sum up, whether it is a question of formulating plans to develop production and construction, of building a factory, of adopting a new technology or of organizing social production, we must always conduct many-sided analyses and comparisons of economic results in order to select the best. This is called a feasibility study. A strengthening of our study in this regard will enable us to do things with a more enlightened, scientific attitude, to commit fewer errors of giving blind commands, and thereby to accelerate the development of the enterprises of our socialist construction.

A WAY TO DEVELOP COLLECTIVE PIG FARMING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 p 14

[Selected letters from readers]

[Text] Based on letters from Comrades Zhang Sisheng [1728 1835 0022], Feng Wuyin [7458 0582 0603] and Zhao Zhansuo [0594 6936 6392]: The pig farms of the Shibanfang Production Brigade in Heshun County and the Xiuwen Production Brigade in Yuci County, Jinzhong Prefecture, Shanxi, have been under the care of specially designated families according to a new arrangement which has shown initial success. The pig farm of the Shibanfang Production Brigade suffered heavy losses 2 years ago. At a general meeting of the commune members the family of commune member Cui Baotian [1508 0202 3944], known to be a hard worker with the collective interests at heart and experienced in pig raising, was selected to take care of the farm. The production brigade gave Cui Baotian's family a "four fixed contract," meaning fixed task, fixed investment, fixed remuneration and fixed reward or punishment. This method soon turned loss into profit for the farm, and the profit continues to increase. The same method was used with great success for the pig farm of the Xiuwen Production Brigade. The masses summed up the experiences and found several advantages:

First, the saving of labor. When the farm is under the care of a specially designated family, the enthusiasm of all members of the family—male and female, old and young—is aroused, and the production brigade can spare some manpower for other purposes. At the pig farm of the Shibanfang Production Brigade it formerly took four commune members to feed 50 pigs. Now, although the number of pigs has increased to 110, more than doubling the former number, only Cui Baotian and his old companion, over 50 years of age, suffice to do this work.

Second, the saving of expenses. Through this contract system the family's benefits will be related directly to the growth of the pigs, and the family will try in every possible way to reduce waste. In the past each pig at the Xiuwen Production Brigade farm was given an average of 242 jin of pig feed, and the expenses amounted to 26.92 yuan. After the adoption

of the family system, the amount of pig feed was reduced to 148 jin and the expenses to 17.5 yuan.

Third, better facilities for leadership and management. Since the adoption of the family system, leadership and management by the production brigade has become easier, because, since the contract has been signed, there will be no more problems with fixed quotas or rewards. The family given the responsibility will carefully attend to such jobs as the growing and storage of pig feed, over-winter care, breeding, medical care and so forth, and the production brigade's administrative work regarding pig farming will be much reduced.

Fourth, a higher scientific standard of pig farming. With a specific family designated to run the pig farm, everyone in that family will think of the pigs, work on them and learn about them. This helps to foster specialized production and to raise the management and technical levels. Since taking over the responsibility for the farm, Cui Baotian's whole family has become active, and people of all ages, male and female alike, have a share in the work. Cui Baotian himself has learned to treat pigs' illnesses, and his old companion has become a well-known "midwife for piglets" in the production brigade.

Fifth, increased collective revenue. In the past the breeding rate of pigs in the Shibanfang Production Brigade was not high, and the sale of pigs was always behind schedule, thus causing serious losses. Every year the production brigade had to spend a lot of money to make up these losses. After the adoption of the new system, the situation changed. In only 2 years, 360 piglets and 53 full-grown pigs were sold for a total of 3,947 yuan. After deductions for workpoints, pig feed, repairs and medical expenses, the net income amounted to 2,585 yuan, averaging a net collective income of 1.87 yuan for each workday.

Practice at these two pig farms has proved that the system of family care is a practical way of developing pig farming on a small or medium scale in communes and production brigades.

9411
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**IMPROVE PARTY STYLE AND ENFORCE PARTY DISCIPLINE TO GUARANTEE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARTY LINE**

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 pp 15-20

[Article by Huang Kecheng [7806 0344 6134]]

[Text] The 5th plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee placed the emphasis on discussing and solving the problem of upholding party leadership, improving party leadership and raising the party's fighting capacity. The session discussed the draft of the revised "Constitution of the Communist Party of China," approved the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," defined the orientation for party building in the new period and put forward new demands. Upholding the spirit of the fifth plenum and carrying out the "Guidelines for Inner-Party Political Life" is an important task in our current effort to inspect discipline. In keeping with the spirit of the fifth plenum, the committees for inspecting discipline at various levels must join the comrades of the whole party in a concerted effort to earnestly improve our party's style.

I

In the new historical period the question of how to properly handle party discipline inspection work centering on the socialist modernization program is a matter we must properly study. We must sum up historical experiences and lessons, especially actual experiences of the past year. In the light of current conditions, we must raise our awareness and make things clear about the orientation.

Our party discipline inspection work has gone through several historical stages. In the period of civil war the Party Affairs Committee was in charge of discipline inspection. The then Party Affairs Committee, which was only responsible for disciplining guilty party members, was a disciplinary organ. After the founding of the state, the Central Committee for Inspecting Discipline was established. It was later renamed the Central Supervisory Committee. In more than 10 years it did a lot of work and played quite a positive role in party building. During the period of the Great Cultural Revolution the Central Supervisory Committee

was smashed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Data accumulated over a long period of time was lost, making it impossible to properly sum up many valuable experiences and lessons. The 3d plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee reestablished the Central Committee for Inspecting Discipline, with newly elected members. Led by the party Central Committee and guided by the tasks set at the plenum, the Central Committee for Inspecting Discipline in the past year and more has combined the establishment of its offices with the initiation of its work. It has achieved some things and acquired some experience.

In the past year and more we have pursued the following work policy: Stressed both preventive measures and education, given primary attention to both legislation and education, respected every law in force, brought lawbreakers to justice, strictly enforced the law and taken a firm and resolute stand. Practice shows that this policy has been correct. Our discipline inspection work must focus on both preventive measures and education. Energetic efforts must be directed toward strengthening party building to insure the healthy growth of the party's body. Our discipline inspection work may be likened to the job of a nurse who is counted on to look after the party's health. A health-protection nurse shows every concern for the one in her care. She takes his pulse and checks his blood pressure and temperature every day. She has at her fingertips all the information about his head, body, hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose and throat—the vital organs of his body—and his blood circulation and nervous system. This is to say that discipline inspection work, like the job of a health-protection nurse, must show overall concern for the party's body, with an eye to its members' ideological and political education. Such work cannot be dismissed as simply a matter of disciplining guilty party members, and it is not as simple as the work the Party Affairs Committee did in the past. If discipline inspection work is treated as it was before, then we are obviously too limited in our outlook. We must have a far broader outlook.

In the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution our party suffered serious sabotage from Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and was badly hurt in an unprecedented catastrophe. Since the "gang of four" was toppled the party Central Committee has adopted a series of measures and done a lot of work. Though things have improved greatly, the party's body has not yet completely recovered and is still a victim of many ills. We must revive our party's glorious traditions and enable its body to recover completely. We cannot content ourselves with handling such matters as defiance of the law and discipline as regards ideological style and life-style. Nor can we be content with disciplining just a few guilty party members. This is no answer to our problem. We must not only cope with defiance of the law and discipline but especially handle matters with the whole situation in mind and build the party ideologically—paying attention to problems concerning the political, ideological and organizational lines. Only in this way can we basically improve the party's style and heal its wounds.

Some people believe that the Committee for inspecting Discipline does not seem to count for much. They say, "We used to look forward to the establishment of a committee for inspecting discipline. Now that we have one, it does not count for much." Some comrades suggest that "the Committee for Inspecting Discipline should get rid of someone the way we disposed of Liu Qingshan and Zhang Zishan during the movements against the three evils and the five evils." Some comrades want the Committee for Inspecting Discipline to play the role of a Bao Zheng. Whether discipline inspection work is worthwhile, in my opinion, does not depend simply on disciplining party members for defying the law and discipline. Work in this respect needs to be done and cannot be neglected. This calls for our constant attention. Apart from fulfilling given assignments from the party Central Committee since the Central Committee for Inspecting Discipline was established, we have also paid attention to the problems of privileged treatment among a small number of leading cadres, of defying the law and discipline among a small number of party members, of defying financial and economic rules, and so forth. But as the party's health-protection nurse we cannot concentrate our work on such problems as privileged treatment, bureaucratism, defiance of the law and discipline, and so forth. We must direct still greater efforts toward political discipline and ideological education in the party. With an eye to the whole party's thorough implementation of the party's lines, principles and policies, we must correct certain erroneous ideas, remove doubts and give better play to the exemplary vanguard role of party members in carrying out the party's lines. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" approved at the fifth plenum are an important achievement by our party in its current construction efforts. In keeping with the demands of the plenum, we must thoroughly carry out the "guiding principles." In the process we must combine discussion of the revised draft of the party's constitution with the conduct of ideological and political education throughout the party--education in adherence to the party's political and ideological lines, greater party unity and the strengthening of democratic centralism and organizational discipline in the party. This is an important task which is related to our discipline inspection work.

For us to play the role of Bao Zheng is to lower the standards of discipline inspection. Bao Zheng, who lived during the Northern Song dynasty, was an upright official under a feudal regime. He put several corrupt officials to death but failed to cure feudal society of its ills. Nor did he succeed in saving the Northern Song dynasty from collapse. Putting people to death is no answer to our problem. Can we put people to death? Those lawbreakers who are guilty of towering crimes and who are deeply hated by the people are subjected to capital punishment according to the law. But putting a few people to death does not mean that corrupt and wasteful practices will not remain with us. Corrupt and wasteful practices, bureaucratism, privileged treatment and the like can be eliminated only after a long period of repeated education. Just as the peasants weed the fields, so we must eliminate the weeds as they

appear. Progress is made with constant education and struggle. A step forward follows every effort made in education and struggle. It is simply impossible to count on one or two political movements to achieve a thorough solution. Solving the problem of privileged treatment calls for seriously implementing the "Regulations Governing the Life of High-Ranking Cadres." In line with these regulations, discipline inspection committees at various levels must make a constant check and exercise supervision. We believe that as long as we do so this bad practice can be gradually overcome. It is of course impossible to get rid of this completely. Problems of this kind call for various measures geared to concrete conditions, such as reforming the system, changing the style, promoting democracy, strengthening supervision over the masses, setting stricter standards for inner-party life, unfolding criticism and self-criticism, taking disciplinary measures against those guilty of serious mistakes, and so forth. A constant struggle is necessary to find a solution. Of course, this is a problem of education from a long-term point of view.

In a word, our discipline inspection work cannot be confined to cases of defying the law and discipline. Instead, it must involve party building and ideological and political education; this will give party members a preventive inoculation. Thus, positive factors in the party can be encouraged and negative ones overcome. Full play can also be given to the exemplary vanguard role of party members to enhance the party's fighting capacity.

II

At present, with the shift in emphasis of the whole party's work, our socialist modernization program has embarked on the road to healthy growth. How should our discipline inspection work be geared to the needs of a changing situation in order to encourage the comrades of the whole party to plunge into the modernization effort with full confidence? I believe that primary attention should be paid to problems in the following several fields:

1. We must cope with the problems concerning the line. The political line defined at the third plenum is this: We must unite the people of all nationalities in the country, set all positive factors in motion, work in unison, go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building a modernized, powerful socialist country. To realize this line, Comrade Deng Xiaoping not long ago put forward three tasks for the 1980's in his report "The Present Situation and Tasks," that is, opposing hegemonism and maintaining world peace, returning Taiwan to the motherland to achieve national unity and stepping up economic construction. In the final analysis we must earnestly and properly carry out the socialist modernization program. Is this line correct? Facts have proved it so. But some people are doubtful and think otherwise. They say strange things about it and even resist and

oppose the line. This is an ideological trend that merits our attention. Our discipline inspection work must be devoted to solving problems in this respect.

The 3d plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee demanded that the whole party and the people of the whole country shift the focus of work and concentrate their energies on economic construction. This is a reflection of the wish of the people of the whole country. If the correctness of this line is doubted, it is a case of people not having awakened from the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Setbacks over many years have given us a full share of bitterness and could not have given us a more profound lesson! We have been engaged in socialist construction for nearly three decades but have not been able to thoroughly rid ourselves of the poor and backward features of our country. This cannot be blamed on the socialist system. While the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is to blame, we have also committed mistakes in our work. We have failed to shift the focus of the whole party's work in an earnest and timely manner. In the past, class struggle was enlarged in an artificial way. The national economy suffered serious sabotage and was on the verge of collapse. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially after the third plenum, chaos was turned into order. The correct line for realizing the socialist modernization program was put forward. A series of measures were taken. Only in this way have we brought about tremendous changes on the various fronts—industrial and agricultural production, finance and trade, science, education and culture—and put these undertakings on the right course. Political life at home, thanks to persistence in promoting socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system, has been marked by an ease of mind on the part of the overwhelming majority of people. A lively political situation of stability and unity has begun to appear. We communists must take the standpoint of the party and that of the people, assume a correct attitude toward the party's line and distinguish between major issues of right and wrong.

Some people say, "The present version of socialism is feudal socialism." They call for starting "a democratic revolution" and promoting "a revolutionary line." In today's China, is it right to launch a "democratic revolution," or is it right to unite in a joint effort to achieve socialist modernization? Of course it is right to engage in socialist modernization, because only this best serves the interests of the people of the whole country. If we were to again launch a "democratic revolution," what, after all, would be our goal? Against whom would the revolution be directed? Dr Sun Yat-sen directed a democratic revolution against the government of the Qing dynasty and the northern warlords. Our party led the new democratic revolution to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in China. Does the feudal class or the feudal system still exist? If we were to again launch a "democratic revolution," would it not be aimed at the overthrow of the Communist Party? This is something the people of the whole country will not

allow to happen. With the Communist Party overthrown, who would be its successor in exercising leadership? History shows that there cannot have been a better political party than the Communist Party. In the democratic revolution our party overthrew three great mountains after more than 20 years of fighting. The people of the whole country were emancipated from the shackles of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. In the period of socialist revolution and construction our party relied on the people of the whole country to carry out socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private capitalist industry and commerce. The socialist system of public ownership was established. Socialist industrial and agricultural production was developed. A sound material foundation was laid for the socialist country. Our party has begun a great enterprise for the Chinese people. Its achievements have left an indelible imprint on our memory. Despite its many mistakes, the party has corrected them itself. In the midst of arduous and complicated tasks, it is simply inconceivable for the party to be free from any mistake, major or minor. Today we have rectified past mistakes and formulated a correct line. This has made us stronger and better able to lead the people of the whole country to achieve modernization. Therefore, the line of the third plenum has won the wholehearted support of the overwhelming majority of the people throughout the country.

Some people also say: "Our democratic revolution is to be directed against bureaucratism and privileged treatment." This is also not right. Such things as bureaucratism and privileged treatment are really quite a nuisance. They do great harm to our cause and must be resolutely opposed. But as we mentioned before, this is a problem that can be solved only after a long period of education and struggle. Today we must seek a gradual solution, with the realization of the four modernizations as the prerequisite. If bureaucratism and privileged treatment—which are opposed as something having to do with the whole situation and treated as the main theme of works of literature and art—are taken as the target of a "democratic revolution," then a real problem would arise. It has not been easy for us, since toppling the "gang of four," to gradually bring about a political situation of stability and unity! Just as we care for our own eyes, so we must maintain stability and unity. We must remember that ours was originally a country with a relatively large number of small producers who were prone to be influenced by anarchism. If we make bureaucratism and privileged treatment a target of a so-called "democratic revolution" and encourage anarchism, then a small number of bad people will make trouble, undermine stability and unity and stand in the way of modernization. This will bring greater harm to the party and the people. If we as communists say and do such things, we will run afoul of the party's organizational discipline and commit a serious political mistake. In our discipline inspection work we must pay serious attention to guarding against and rectifying such political mistakes by our party members.

2. We must tackle problems in regard to the "four upholds." While calling for the realization of the four modernizations, the party Central

Committee has clearly pointed out that we must uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is a problem concerning orientation. From the day our party was founded we have followed this orientation for 59 years. The Chinese Communist Party was founded not just to make a democratic revolution but to carry out socialist revolution and construction and to ultimately realize communism in our country. By upholding these four fundamental principles we have achieved the great victory of the socialist revolution and established the socialist system. Therefore, at no time must we waver in our resolution to uphold these four fundamental principles.

During the Great Cultural Revolution Lin Biao and the "gang of four" practiced an ultraleftist line, stood truth on its head, confused right and wrong and created confusion in people's minds. Coupled with mistakes in our party's work, this made a big dent in the party's prestige. Because some cadres and people suffered, they therefore view our orientation with suspicion. Some doubt the superiority of the socialist system. Some feel that they have nothing to say in defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Some young people even worship what the capitalist state stands for, yearn for bourgeois "democracy" and "freedom" and follow a hackneyed bourgeois lifestyle. All this has been reflected in the party. Some Communist Party members have expressed sympathy with certain people who used the "Xidan wall" to vilify the leadership of the party and attack the socialist system. They have even supported the activities of those so-called "holders of different political views." In our discipline inspection work we cannot overlook these phenomena. If Communist Party members doubt the four fundamental principles, this is very harmful to the party's cause. We must resolutely oppose this and energetically help these comrades to rectify their mistakes.

Some comrades may ask: By promoting the "four upholds," are we not creating a forbidden zone? We must say that the "four upholds" represent the party's basic principles. There is not the slightest doubt about this. If this is considered a forbidden zone, then we do need such a "forbidden zone." There is no freedom in the world without restraints. There is always a forbidden zone. Take a thriving capitalist state like the United States, for instance. The bourgeois right to private property is the greatest forbidden zone and is considered sacrosanct. Since the third plenum the party Central Committee has called for emancipating the mind and promoting democracy, revived the fine tradition of seeking truth from facts and adhered to the Marxist principle of "practice being the sole criterion for testing truth." This has smashed through various forbidden zones created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," turned chaos into order, clarified issues of right and wrong, restored the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to its original features and pushed the party's cause a big step forward. In the future we must continue emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts. By emancipating the mind we mean using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to

study new conditions and solve new problems and bringing our ideological awareness more in line with objective reality. Emancipating the mind does not mean giving free or unprincipled rein to thinking. Nor does smashing through the forbidden zones mean that an individual's words and actions are not subject to any restrictions and can transcend the four fundamental principles. If Communist Party members fail to follow the socialist road or to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat in making revolution and achieving the four modernizations, then the interests of the Chinese people will suffer. Without the Communist Party's leadership, what is the guarantee for socialism? What is the guarantee for the dictatorship of the proletariat? By promoting socialism we mean practicing the version of socialism prescribed by Marx and Lenin. If we depart from the four fundamental principles, any talk about practicing socialism will become nonsense.

At present certain ideological trends merit our attention. They chiefly take the form of anarchism, ultrademocracy, absolute egalitarianism, out-and-out egoism, and so forth. If not taken seriously or given attention and corrected through education, these ideological trends will have a corrosive effect on our party members and an impact over a wide area. Discipline inspection committees at various levels must always check the ideological state of party members, put it on the agenda as an important matter, and detect new ideological trends in time. Just as a health-protection nurse acquaints herself with the physical condition of the person in her care, so we must keep abreast of ideological trends in the party. We must adopt measures to correct certain erroneous ideological trends and prevent the onset of a disease or its spread.

3. We must handle well problems regarding organizational principles. Our party is the political party of the proletariat. This calls for a high sense of organization and discipline on the part of party members. Their every word and deed must be compatible with the party's organizational principles. For instance, our party practices democratic centralism. An individual must obey the party organization, the minority the majority, subordinates their superiors and the whole party the party Central Committee. The party constitution stipulates that any party member who disagrees with the party's line, principles or policies or a party decision may air his views at a party meeting. If necessary he may write to the party Central Committee. However, he is not allowed to utter any nonsense anywhere outside the party. Still less is he allowed to do as he pleases in disregard of the party's line, principles and policies. Many evil trends in our party have not been checked in time. For instance, relaxation of organizational discipline has accounted for a degree of anarchism. In disregard of party regulations, some members have talked irresponsibly everywhere they go. Some fail to act on party decisions or to carry them out thoroughly. In defiance of financial and economic rules and regulations and repeated appeals by the party Central Committee, some have privately raised commodity prices, freely handed out bonuses and acted in various ways that make things difficult

for national construction and improvement of the people's life. In our discipline inspection work we must sternly cope with these evil trends, conduct education with given objectives in mind, provide guidance and strengthen the sense of organization and discipline among party members. In no way can we let these erroneous acts go unchecked and weaken the party's fighting capacity.

In sum, the discipline inspection organs must have their construction programs revolve around the modernization effort and show overall concern for party building. They must not only take care of organizational discipline in the party but primarily concentrate their attention on political discipline and problems related to line and orientation and seriously conduct ideological education among party members with these problems as the starting point. We must take good care of the party's style and strictly enforce party discipline in order to guarantee the successful implementation of the party's line.

III

Members of discipline inspection committees and workers of discipline inspection organs must play an exemplary role in doing discipline inspection work well. This is of unusually great importance. Since we must watch over the health of the party the way a health-protection nurse does her job, we must first take good care of our own health. We cannot do our job while we ourselves are victims of diseases and carriers of germs. Our discipline inspection work calls on us to fight evil trends in the party. Therefore, every one of us committee members or discipline inspection workers must impose strict discipline on oneself and play an exemplary role in observing party discipline, party rules and regulations and various state laws. We must first refrain from doing what we forbid the masses to do and practice what we want the masses to practice. We must pay attention to everything we ourselves do. If as discipline inspection workers we become stained with bad ideological styles and refuse to set personal examples in carrying out the party's various principles and rules of discipline, then we will forfeit the right to speak, find it embarrassing to advise others and lose the power to give people preventive inoculations. If we say one thing and mean another or do not practice what we preach, then we will be hypocrites who do not match words with deeds. Then our reputation will be completely in ruins, and we will no longer be able to do our work well.

In attending certain meetings and airing their views, members of our discipline inspection committees must speak from the standpoint of the party Central Committee's principles and act on its will. This is our responsibility as well as what we should practice as a matter of discipline. As Communist Party members we cannot say anything at nonparty meetings which is contrary to the party's line, policies and principles (including ideological principles, political principles and organizational principles). Nor can we publish articles of this nature in newspapers and

magazines. Otherwise, we will commit the mistake of liberalism--showing lack of organization and discipline. Of course, at party meetings and those held by the Discipline Inspection Committee, everyone should have his say and air any view, right or wrong or partially so. This is an organizational principle of our party.

Criticism and self-criticism is one of the major styles of our party. Those comrades engaged in discipline inspection work must especially not give up such a weapon. Criticism and self-criticism are part of regular democratic party life and an important part of the party's style. They must be constantly and unreservedly conducted. Anyone who has committed mistakes or acted against party principles must discuss things at the table and conduct criticism and self-criticism. Our criticism must be prompted by upholding party interests and party spirit, not by personal grievances, factional interests or a desire to hurt others. We cannot always be correct in our criticism. Anyone who is wrongly criticized can state his case and even make a rebuttal. Thus, our party's political life can be enlivened. We cannot take normal criticism as directed at anyone in particular. Nor can we treat any suggestion and any criticism as a case of opposing the party. This runs counter to the criteria for party life. When criticized, some comrades suspect that there is something wrong with the criticizer or an ulterior motive. This is also not the right attitude. If you suspect an ulterior motive, you may as well argue it out instead of attacking the criticizer behind his back. Our party originally boasted of a glorious tradition of criticism and self-criticism. During the Great Cultural Revolution this fine tradition was destroyed. An atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism in the party is sorely needed now. Some comrades dare to uphold principles—are open and frank in criticizing any evil trend. However, these comrades are often laughed at as greenhorns on the impulsive side and are even accused of having ulterior motives. This is rather annoying. As cadres responsible for discipline inspection work, we must dare to uphold principles, fight and call a spade a spade. Those who lack the guts, shrink from contradictions, bow to pressure and fawn upon others are not cut out for party discipline inspection work. If we even lack the courage for criticism and self-criticism, then how can we be relied upon to give our all in defense of party principles? How can we act as the party's health-protection nurse?

We comrades engaged in discipline inspection work must be conscious of our own glorious duty at all times. In word and deed we must be examples, observing party discipline and state laws. We must be the first to suffer and the last to benefit in work, life and ideological style—playing an exemplary vanguard role. It is of extremely great significance that we give full play to the exemplary vanguard role of the whole body of party members, strengthen party leadership, raise the party's fighting capacity, cement the ties between the party and the masses and enhance the party's prestige. Of course, to do the job well we rely completely on the concerted efforts of the comrades of the whole party. But the comrades of our discipline inspection committees at various levels must set personal examples, take the lead in doing a good job, encourage and inspire the whole party, earnestly strive for a proper party style, strictly enforce party discipline and insure the smooth progress of the four modernizations.

ONE WHO INSPIRED AND GUIDED THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY SCHOOL--IN MEMORY
OF COMRADE LIU SHAOQI

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[Article by Yang Xianzhen [2799 3759 3791]]

[Text] Our beloved Comrade Liu Shaoqi guided the work of the Central Party School for 9 years. From the day when the party Central Committee, in July 1948, decided to create the Marxist-Leninist Academy and appointed Comrade Shaoqi its principal, all aspects of the development and construction of the Central Party School embodied his painstaking labor and bore the stamp of his achievements. For a long time, whether in theoretical teaching or in political ideology and administrative affairs, whether in face of difficulties and setbacks or confronted with new arduous tasks, whether in normal teaching life or in sharp struggles, he always showed an interest, guided and encouraged us in our work, gave us clear instructions and rendered us effective support. For this very reason, that ambitious "theoretical authority" always attempted to negate him through the work of the party school. However, Comrade Shaoqi's contributions to the building of the party school cannot, after all, be obliterated by a few careerists and conspirators. Today, at this momentous turning point of history, reviewing his teachings and defending and developing his policies and principles on running the party school will have a positive significance in the party's entire theoretical education work as well as in the building of the party school.

I

Comrade Shaoqi was a great Marxist of our party. He was always interested in the theoretical education work of the party cadres. "On the Party," "On the Cultivation of a Communist Party Member" and "On Inner-Party Struggle," his famous works, are models of integrating the fundamental Marxist theory on party building and the concrete practice of the Chinese Communist Party and are excellent texts for the theoretical study and education of the cadres. In 1948, on the eve of the total victory of China's democratic revolution, Comrade Shaoqi foresaw that, after the victory of the revolution, with the development of the revolutionary

situation and the changes in the party's position, our party would be faced with many new issues and that, if the theoretical level of the party, especially of the leading cadres, was not raised, it would be impossible to direct China's revolution to new victories. Therefore, after becoming concurrently the principal of the Marxist-Leninist Academy he always began by raising the theoretical level of the entire party whenever he considered the building of the school. When we were still running the school in Liajia Goukou village, Pingshan County, Hebei Province, he had already conceived the idea of making the Marxist-Leninist Academy, after we had entered the city, the center of the party's theoretical education, "producing a guiding effect on the party's studies and raising the theoretical level of the entire party by means of it." He also wanted to create intermediate and elementary party schools in order to fundamentally remedy the backwardness of the party cadres in theoretical knowledge.

After the Marxist-Leninist Academy was started, Comrade Shaoqi, in his several speeches to the students, repeatedly expounded the momentous significance of raising the party's theoretical level. In his speech to the first group of students in Liajia Goukou in December 1948, he said: "Why do we want to have the Marxist-Leninist Academy? Why do we want to study Marxism-Leninism? Is it all right for a Communist Party member not to study it? Or to study less? No. Lenin said: 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary action.' Revolutionary action is guided by revolutionary theory. When the theory is correct and the guidance is correct, the revolution will succeed; otherwise, it will not succeed. Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical foundation of our party, and the Communist Party is built on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, our party has defects in this aspect." Analyzing the conditions of our cadres thereafter, he said that the courageous and arduous struggles against the enemy waged by many comrades "are excellent, but the defect is the lack of sufficient theoretical knowledge, which is the biggest defect of many." He said earnestly: "After toppling Jiang Jieshi and the old regime we must lead the people of the entire country to organize a state. If this is not handled properly, others will overthrow us. The first emperor of Tang and his ministers discussed whether creating a nation or safeguarding the achievements was more difficult. This is an issue which has always existed in history. Once we win the country it is not easy to safeguard it.... After the victory of the revolution we will need more theoretical books, so that we will become expert in theoretical knowledge. Otherwise, in the complex circumstances the dangers will be great." He also stressed: To become cadres qualified to perform leadership work "we must be able to determine the direction independently and must possess both Chinese and foreign knowledge and both theoretical knowledge and practical experience. Our work was not bad in the past, but if we learn theories, we will perform our work even more successfully and progress even further. Otherwise, there is another danger, which is to regress. After the victory of China's revolution the conditions will become more complex. If we do not progress, we will regress."

Comrade Shaoqi always urged the students of the Marxist-Leninist Academy to study both Comrade Mao Zedong's works and those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It was also in 1948, when he noticed the reluctance of some students to study Marxist-Leninist works, that he said: "Some people question the necessity of studying foreign things. According to them we cannot even finish studying the Chinese books and Chairman Mao's books! At least we should study Chinese books first before foreign books! This view is incorrect.... Studying Marxism-Leninism is studying the revolutionary experiences of foreign countries, of the nations of the world.... To understand the relationship between the revolutionary experiences of China and of the world we must study both, and it will be wrong to overlook either." Immediately he pointed out that after the "4 May" movement the dogmatist tendency of overlooking China's revolutionary experiences and "always referring to Greece" existed inside and outside the party. "After the rectification movement, this tendency in the party was corrected. The new issue which has now emerged is that of studying only the Chinese, not the foreign. The question of whether we should study the revolutionary experience of foreign countries is a question of whether we should study the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

To implement this principle we once had to overcome two different erroneous tendencies. One tendency was to feel that Comrade Mao Zedong's works were not classics. This viewpoint was brought up mainly by a few students in the theoretical training class. We criticized this erroneous viewpoint of disparaging Comrade Mao Zedong's works at the second party delegates meeting of the advanced party school held in 1956, and we unequivocally provided that, in the teaching plans and the booklists in the future, Comrade Mao Zedong's works must be included among the Marxist classics. The other tendency was to place the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and those of Comrade Mao Zedong on opposite sides. Fomented mainly by that "theoretical authority" after 1957, this was merely a breath of evil wind at the beginning. But after the 1959 Lushan Conference it blew ever stronger, engulfing the school. There was, for instance, the following viewpoint: Advocating the study of Marxist-Leninist works meant opposing the study of Chairman Mao's works; only prattling incessantly about studying Chairman Mao's works constituted studying theory. Reportedly this was because Marxist-Leninist books were "only cartoonlike, sketchy Marxism," while Chairman Mao's works, according to that "theoretical authority," constituted "the peak of Marxism...the supreme criterion, the final criterion, of Marxism." Thus, the study of theories was limited to Chairman Mao's works, and if Marxist-Leninist works were to be studied, "Mao Zedong Thought must serve as the key link." At that time the lists of books to be studied had to be arranged in the order of Mao, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. All lists which followed the chronological order were criticized as "disparaging Chairman Mao's works."

Such perversities naturally encountered the resistance of many comrades of the advanced party school. Early in 1962, after the ninth plenary

session of the eighth party Central Committee and the Expanded Central Work Conference, the party committee of the advanced party school aroused the masses and, after inspecting and summarizing the work of the party school, criticized the fallacious slogans which were confusing people's mind, pointed out the error of taking time out from studying to take part in movements and write "fighting articles," reiterated the teaching policy approved by the Politburo of the party Central Committee, restored the principle of "giving first place to teaching...integrating teaching and scientific research, and having scientific research serve teaching" commanded by Comrade Shaoqi, stressed the conscientious study of the original works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin simultaneously with the study of Chairman Mao's works, and warned against dogmatism divorced from reality and politics and empiricism which disparaged theory and book learning. As a result, Comrade Shaoqi's idea of running the school was upheld, the basic experiences gained by the party school under his leadership were affirmed, and the false Marxism and false Mao Zedong Thought promoted by that "theoretical authority" in the party school were liquidated. Regrettably, before the completion of the inspection and summation the "theoretical authority" brandished the big club of "rightwing reversal" and launched a vicious attack. The good experiences and traditions of the advanced party school under Comrade Shaoqi's leadership were again negated and almost completely destroyed.

II

In the early period of the Marxist-Leninist Academy some students of the first and second groups had a confused concept of theoretical studies to varying degrees and were afraid of making dogmatist errors. When admonishing them against dogmatism and empiricism, Comrade Shaoqi clearly pointed out that the main tendency at that time was empiricism. He said: "Dogmatism is subjectivism. The contradiction between the subjective and the objective will always exist, and subjectivism will be here even 10,000 years from now. If we consciously guard against it, we will make fewer or no mistakes. However, if, for fear of dogmatism, we stop studying or do not enroll in the Marxist-Leninist Academy, there is also a danger, which is empiricism. Which is the main ideological deviation and danger in the party at present? The deviation toward empiricism is greater; empiricism is the main deviation and the main danger. Not studying is committing the empiricist error." In May 1957 he stressed to us: "It is highly necessary for our cadres to study. In the past, rather than studying too much, we studied too little."

How could we prevent dogmatism while overcoming empiricism? Comrade Shaoqi felt that the most fundamental way was to link theory with reality. He pointed out: "Chairman Mao said that Marxism-Leninism is the universal truth, accurate anywhere in the world. To study theories and read books is for the purpose of learning the universal truth and integrating it with the concrete practice of China's revolution. We must have both practical experience and theoretical knowledge, neither being dispensable.

We must have both Chinese and foreign experiences, neither being dispensable. Otherwise, we will be lame Marxists. The dogmatists are lame Marxists, and the empiricists are crawling Marxists. When crawling on the ground we cannot see very far, and we will lose our direction. Once we stand up, we can see far. Therefore, we must study the universal truth and integrate it with China's reality."

One important content of integrating theory and reality is to link the study of theories with ideological reform and work style rectification. This was Comrade Shaoqi's consistent thinking on running the school. In a speech at the Marxist-Leninist Academy in 1951 he clearly pointed out: "In the party schools in the past, at first it was studying books only, with no attention to ideological style. Subsequently, it was ideological style only, without book learning. Now we must combine the two." In his speech at the school in April 1952 he stressed the integration of theoretical studies with rectification. He said: "The tasks of the Marxist-Leninist Academy are to study Marxist-Leninist theories relatively systematically and to temper ideology and raise the party and organizational spirit." "If these two requirements are not met, one cannot graduate."

To implement Comrade Shaoqi's thinking on running the school and in accordance with the relevant directives of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong and the rectification experiences of the Yanan Central Party School, we made the following proposal in the "Report of the Marxist-Leninist Academy to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on the Teaching Tasks, Teaching Policy, Organizational Structure, Organizational Leadership and Party Work," which we drafted in May 1953: "Studying theories, improving understanding, linking with reality and reforming ideology must serve as the common teaching policy of the first and second sections, which is also the policy that 'the goal of studying Marxist-Leninist theories is to enable the students to correctly apply such theories in solving the practical issues in China's revolution.'" In June the Central Committee Politburo approved the report, and "studying theories, improving understanding, linking with reality and reforming ideology" formally became the teaching policy of the school. Later on it became, in fact, the common teaching policy of party schools in all areas of the nation and was commonly known as "the 16-word policy" (revised with the approval of the party Central Committee in February 1956 to "studying theories, linking with reality, improving understanding and reinforcing party spirit").

As has been proved by the long practice of the advanced party school and party schools at all levels in the nation, this teaching policy is completely correct. However, for a considerable period, especially after the start of the Great Cultural Revolution, it was vilified by that "theoretical authority" and Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as "a down-right bourgeois revisionist policy," "a policy against the study of Chairman Mao's works and Mao Zedong Thought" and "opposed to Chairman Mao,"

and it became the main "indictment" against the "Liu Shaoqi counterrevolutionary revisionist line" promoted by the advanced party school. They completely distorted the "16-word policy," exaggerated the "accusations" against it to an alarming extent and condemned it for "serving the criminal goal of turning the party school into a base for counterrevolutionary restorative activities." Many party schools in various areas were also slandered as "fortresses against Mao Zedong Thought" and "black strongholds of revisionism" for promoting the "16-word policy."

On the issue of the "16-word policy," that "theoretical authority" gave his vilest performance. He displayed an extraordinary enthusiasm for the "16-word policy" before 1958, not only loudly singing its praises but sternly criticizing the viewpoint of a small number of comrades in the theoretical propaganda field who disparaged it. However, by the second half of 1959 he had made a 180-degree about-face and attacked us for refusing to study Chairman Mao's works at the advanced party school and for resisting Chairman Mao with the "16-word policy." At a meeting in September 1964 he slandered the "16-word policy" as "incantations" which had "actually become the pretext for opposing Mao Zedong Thought in the advanced party school," and he issued a ban against "its use in the future."

Naturally, the "theoretical authority" could not be satisfied with banning the "16-word policy." His goal was to implicate Comrade Shaoqi and seek a higher position by punishing him. His sinister intent can be seen clearly in a comment he made.

Early in May 1957 Comrade Shaoqi made a long speech on the issue of how to launch the rectification campaign in the advanced party school, and he mentioned the need to "conscientiously study the documents, link with reality, discuss the issues and examine one's own thinking." The draft of his talk was printed by letterpress in 1962. On the margin of the passage cited above the "theoretical authority" commented: "This is the first edition of Yang Hou's [2799 0186] '16-word policy.' When refusing to take Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding policy of the party school, Yang Hou said that its '16-word policy' was formulated by Comrade Shaoqi and is the policy used to resist the chairman."

Not one word of the comment was true. As stated above, the "16-word policy" was formulated by us in accordance with the spirit of the Yanan rectification campaign and the relevant directives of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, and it was the teaching policy of the party school with the approval of the Central Committee Politburo. Why was it that implementing the policy constituted "refusing to take Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding policy of the party school" and "resisting the chairman"? We never said that the policy was formulated by Comrade Shaoqi. Why did he start such a rumor? On reflection, we find that it was not surprising at all. By vilifying the "16-word policy" as a policy "to resist Chairman Mao" and inventing the story that we credited

Comrade Shaoqi with its formulation, it no doubt became logical for the "theoretical authority" to accuse Comrade Shaoqi of "resisting Chairman Mao," let alone the fact that there was the "first edition" as proof. Wasn't it extremely ridiculous to call a 1957 speech, which was not printed until 1962, the first edition of an official document of 1953? However, as far as this power-hungry careerist was concerned, it was completely "logical."

III

Comrade Shaoqi's concern for and guidance of the work of the party school were also demonstrated in his constant personal participation in the planning of the curriculum. Even before the formation of the Marxist-Leninist Academy, he proposed plans for the curriculum of the first semester for students of the first group. In 1956, to adapt the teaching of the party school to the shift in the emphasis of the party's work, he made concrete provisions in the curriculum. He said: "At present the high-level cadres urgently need to study philosophy and political economy. These two subjects are relatively hard to comprehend and learn, and the foundation is relatively deficient. Therefore, they should be given first place.... When the working cadres are given a leave of absence to study, they should study these two subjects.... The advanced party school may consider the method of '70-30,' with philosophy and political economy constituting 70 percent of the curriculum and stressing the latter, and the remaining 30 percent devoted to party history, party building, the history of the Soviet Communist Party and policies."

As regards the teaching of various courses, Comrade Shaoqi stressed the study of political economy. Primarily this was inseparable from the fact that he placed economic construction in an important position in the leadership work of the entire party and state. As early as 1951 he pointed out to us in a letter that the Marxist-Leninist Academy should add courses on "the worker movement" and "plant management," and he asked us to "plan and organize the courses." However, due to the lack of qualified teachers at that time and our inadequate subjective attention and insufficient effort, we did not offer these courses. In 1956 Comrade Shaoqi repeatedly exhorted us to "do more independent thinking, study China's issues and teach political economy in conjunction with China's practical conditions.... Especially in the study of socialism, attention must be given to China's practical issues.... We ourselves also have a set of experiences, and we must stress the study of our own experiences." In May 1957 Comrade Shaoqi instructed us to organize the teaching personnel to study the issue of how to make the socialist economy diverse and flexible as well as planned. Before we had a chance to make full preparations, this momentous topic involving fundamental principles of the Marxist political economy and linked with the direction of development of China's economic construction was swept aside by political movements. Every time we think of it, we feel that we failed to

perform our work properly in the past and to live up to Comrade Shaoqi's expectations.

With the broad vision of building the party school into the theoretical center and impregnable stronghold of the party, Comrade Shaoqi was extremely interested in reinforcing its teaching ranks and cultivating its teaching personnel. In 1956, when Comrade Hou Weiyu [0186 4850 3558] and I reported to him on the 7-year construction plan of the party school, he suggested increasing the number of cadres in the teaching and research sections to 800 or 1,000. "It is necessary to send some people regularly and in a planned way to the actual work posts for training in order to avoid dogmatism. Thus, more teaching cadres are needed. Teaching is creative work. We must not fear the size of the teaching and research sections. It is good for it to be rather large. It is not the same as government and administrative organs. But the administrative strength of the school should not be large." We informed him at that time that we were preparing to introduce the academic rank system in the advanced party school and, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the State Council, to confer the titles of professor, assistant professor, lecturer and assistant on the teaching personnel. After pondering, he nodded and said: "It is necessary to introduce the academic rank system. If we want them to settle down in their work, the school must be normalized. We need to adopt such systems in order to let them establish the idea of theoretical education work as a profession." His concern and guidance greatly inspired all the comrades of the party school. In accordance with his instructions, we proposed the plan to expand the teaching ranks and add more teaching and research sections, introduced the academic rank system, conferred the titles of lecturer, assistant, assistant research fellow and practice research fellow on the teaching personnel and prepared to gradually add the titles of professor, assistant professor, research fellow and associate research fellow.

Just when the comrades of the entire school were enthusiastically striving to realize Comrade Shaoqi's instructions and the 7-year construction plan, that "theoretical authority" occupying a high position emerged to interfere. He declared that, by adding more teaching and research sections and introducing the academic rank system, we were "copying the experiences of the Soviet Union...incompatible with the spirit of the Yanan rectification movement," and he even asked us to abolish the existing seven teaching and research sections and to organize a unified "Mao Zedong Thought teaching and research section." We rejected such ridiculous proposals. Nevertheless, due to changed circumstances the plan to expand the teaching ranks supported by Comrade Shaoqi was not realized. Meanwhile, by the end of 1959 the "theoretical authority," under the pretext of "antirightism," had assumed complete control of the advanced party school, and the plans to expand the teaching and research sections and reinforce the teaching ranks came to naught.

The first 9 years of the advanced party school under the leadership of Comrade Shaoqi, before the Great Cultural Revolution, were 9 years of stability, unity and vitality. Comrade Shaoqi's concern and guidance gave us inspiration and strength and brought development and prosperity to the work of the party school, but the "theoretical authority's" interference resulted in a gigantic disaster for the school.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," under the concern of the party Central Committee and the party committees of all areas, the Central Party School and the party schools of all areas were successively restored, and the good experiences and traditions formed under the leadership of Comrade Shaoqi made new development under new conditions. The party school has begun a new life and made new strides, and it is having a growing impact on the party's cadre education. As we recall the past and look to the future, we can receive much enlightenment from Comrade Shaoqi's concern for and support of the work of the party school. It has a positive significance in the long-range construction of the party school.

Our simple reminiscences are but a cup of light wine which is offered as a sacrifice to our beloved Comrade Shaoqi in order to express our long-felt yearning. At the same time, we wish to take this opportunity to express our deep grief for Comrade Hou Weiyu, who once fought shoulder to shoulder with us in the work of the party school and who unfortunately died an early death from that "theoretical authority's" ruthless persecution.

6080
CSO: 4004

HE DIED IN BATTLE BUT HIS SPIRIT LIVES ON; CHERISH THE MARTYR TO ENLIGHTEN THE YOUNGER GENERATION—COMMEMORATING THE 44TH ANNIVERSARY OF COMRADE LIU ZHIDAN'S DEATH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 pp 26-30

[Article by Zhang Xiushan [1728 4423 1472]]

[Text] April 1, 1980, marks the 44th anniversary of the courageous sacrifice of Comrade Liu Zhidan's [0491 1807 0030] life. He was a fine son of the Chinese nation, a loyal fighter of the proletariat and the principal founder of the Shaanxi-Gansu and the northern Shaanxi base areas which were first used by the Northwest Red Army and later developed into a stronghold and a launching site for the Chinese revolution. He braved all dangers for the sake of the Chinese revolution, struggled throughout his lifetime and won immortal merit. Therefore, he has always been highly praised by the party and the people. Comrade Mao Zedong called him a "leader of the masses and a national hero." Comrade Zhou Enlai wrote this eulogy for him: "There are thousands or tens of thousands of heroes in Chinese history; among them, Liu Zhidan is a people's hero." Comrade Zhu De praised him as "a paragon for the Red Army." Comrade Zhidan is related to the people of the Northwest like flesh and blood, and for many years songs in praise of him have been widely circulated. He has always lived in the hearts of the Northwest people. However, Comrade Zhidan went through many difficult and complex struggles. He was imprisoned several times by the Guomindang reactionaries as well as by the promoters of Wang Ming's "leftist" opportunist line. Even after his death, his soul could not rest in peace. When Hu Zongnan [5170 1350 0589] invaded the Border Region, Comrade Zhidan's remains were exhumed. Again, during the Great Cultural Revolution the "gang of four" and that "adviser" viciously slandered and denounced him in a full-scale literary inquisition. However, history brooks no distortion, and the achievements of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation in China cannot be obliterated. Now that the "gang of four" have been overthrown and the case against Comrade Zhidan has been clarified, his rehabilitation is a source of jubilation to the people of the Northwest as well as to those comrades who formerly worked under him.

I first met Comrade Zhdan in April 1931. At that time he was in Pingliang, Gansu, and just out of prison. I also arrived there from Dingxi. He had been disarmed and arrested by Warlord Su Yusheng [5685 7183 3932] for his propaganda activities in the army but was helped out by Mr Du Binchen [2629 2430 5256], his former teacher at the Yulin Secondary School. Mr Du was a patriotic personage in Shaanxi Province, then serving as a senior counselor to Yang Hucheng [2254 5706 1004]. Before that time he and I had never met, though his name and his revolutionary exploits were familiar to me. He was one of the oldtime Communist Party members in the Northwest, having joined the CYL in 1924 and then the party in the spring of 1926. He had also been a student at the Huangpu Military Academy, where he was educated and directly influenced by the already famous party activists Comrades Zhou Enlai and Yun Daiying [1926 0108 5391]. He later took part in the Northern Expedition. After the "7 August" Conference he assumed the post of secretary of the Military Commission under the Shaanxi provincial party committee and helped to plan and coordinate the uprisings in various parts of Shaanxi. He was in personal command of the "Weihua [3262 5478] Uprising." After the Sixth CCP Congress he was appointed secretary of the Military Commission in Northern Shaanxi and later concurrently secretary of the Special Committee in Northern Shaanxi, providing direct leadership for the people of northern Shaanxi in the revolutionary struggle. His experiences won the deep admiration of the comrades, including myself. At that time we were all staying at the regimental headquarters of Liu Baotang [0491 1405 1016]. Many of the armymen under Liu came from Comrade Zhdan's home village and were very loyal to their friends; Comrade Zhdan soon became one of them. Liu was commander of the 2d Special Service Regiment under warlord Chen Guizhang [7115 3802 1014] and highly trusted Comrade Zhdan. He told me that, as directed by the provincial party committee, he was ready to do propaganda work among the soldiers of the newly organized 13th Division under Chen with Liu's help. I was quite pleased with this idea, and all the comrades who were with me wanted to work under Comrade Zhdan's direct leadership. We all hoped to set up a contingent among Chen's rank and file which would be directly controlled by the party. At that time Chen had some real power. Later there were some sharp contradictions between Chen Guizhang and the other warlords in the scramble for spheres of influence, and Chen had to fight on two fronts. He urgently needed help and appointed Comrade Zhdan commander of the 11th Brigade. With the deterioration of the situation he was unable to stand his own ground, and Zhdan had to leave Chen's unit. Before his departure he wanted us to continue our propaganda activities among the rank and file of Liu Botang and to wait there for further news from him.

When he arrived in Nanliang along the Shaanxi-Gansu border, there was already a peasant force in the mountains, formed during his service in Chen's unit. After his arrival, this force was immediately consolidated and expanded into a contingent of more than 300 fighters. In the autumn of 1931 the guerrilla force and a band of shopkeepers from western Shanxi joined forces with Comrade Zhdan in Nanliang. Comrade Xie Zichang

[6200 1311 7022] also arrived with a guerrilla force dispatched by the Shaanxi provincial party committee. In February 1932 this combined force was organized as the Northwest Anti-Imperialist Alliance Army, which later changed its name to the Shaanxi-Gansu Guerrilla Force of the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army. Comrades Zichang and Zhidan served successively as commander in chief. This newly organized force soon went around the vast Shaanxi-Gansu area fighting local bullies, dividing the land among the peasants and doing mass work, thus laying the foundation for the Northwest Base Area and for the creation of the 26th Red Army.

In the winter of 1932, on instructions from the Central Committee, the Shaanxi-Gansu Guerrilla Force led by Comrade Liu Zhidan and Xie Zichang was reorganized as the 26th Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army. At that time, however, Du Heng [2629 5899], a "leftist" opportunist, visited the Red Army in the capacity of Central Committee representative and secretary of the Shaanxi provincial committee. As soon as he arrived he made all sorts of accusations against Liu and Xie and slandered their correct ideas as the so-called "rightist opportunism," "mountain-stronghold mentality," "flightist line," and so forth. Both Liu and Xie were relieved of their command, and Comrade Zichang was sent to Shanghai for "training." Comrade Zhidan was spared only upon repeated requests of the broad masses of commanders and fighters. However, he was not given any work. In June 1933 Du Heng forced the 26th Red Army to leave the already established base area in Zhaojin [3564 6855], to march south toward Weihua and to engage the enemy near Xian, where the enemy had already set up a strong defense. Comrade Zhidan opposed this idea time and again, but Du Heng was adamant. The result was that as soon as the Red Army reached the Chinling mountainous region it was surrounded by enemy forces. After more than a month's hard fighting, the first Red Army main force of the Northwest, formed with a great deal of labor, was destroyed. Liu Zhidan, Wang Shitai [3769 0013 3141] and some other comrades broke out of the encirclement under the cover of the underground party, and after an arduous detour, which took some 2 months, they finally returned to the Zhaojin base area. Du Heng, the leftist extremist, deserted the ranks while in action and finally became a disgraceful renegade.

While the 26th Red Army was on its southward march, the Zhaojin base area was taken over by the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Special Committee and continued to expand. In the spring of 1932 the first Northwest Revolutionary Base was set up in the Wuzi [2976 1316] area of Sanyuan. At this base a strong Weibei Guerrilla Force, formed earlier, was now reorganized at the 4th Regiment of the 26th Red Army Group. This regiment, together with Comrade Wang Taiji's [3769 3141 0679] uprising force, became the Northwest Anti-Japanese Volunteer Army. Added to this combined force was the guerrilla force which had started an uprising in Yao County. All these forces arrived at the Zhaojin Base one after another. To establish a unified command, the Special Committee decided to establish the Shaanxi-Gansu Guerrilla Command Post of the Chinese Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Red Army, with Comrade Wang Taiji as commander in chief. Within a month

this guerrilla force, after a series of victories, captured Zhanghong Township in Dianyi County, and the base area was further expanded. After Comrade Zhidan's return, everyone was concerned about his health and his work. Speaking of work, he said: "Just carry on what you are doing. Comrade Taiji is in charge, and I will be his assistant." Thus, he became chief of staff of the General Headquarters. At that time Comrade Zhidan planned to march to Nanliang and set up a base in the mountainous area along the Shaanxi-Gansu Border. In November of the same year the General Headquarters party committee decided to change the General Command Post into the Division Headquarters of the 42d Division, with Wang Taiji as division commander and Liu Zhidan as chief of staff. The Volunteer Army and the Yao County guerrilla force were reorganized as the 3d Regiment of the Red Army. Thus, the 26th Red Army came to have two regiments. Under the command of Wang and Liu, the Red Army launched a series of attacks in the central Shaanxi and central Gansu plains and won many victories, thus further expanding the main force of the Red Army. It also formed local guerrilla bands, and the revolution entered a new phase. When Comrade Taiji later requested leave to do propaganda work in the army, Comrade Zhidan became the division commander, won many more battles and set up base areas in several more counties.

In June 1934 Comrade Zhidan returned to the rear area to assume the post of Military Commission chairman with overall responsibility for the operation of the Red Army and the guerrilla forces in the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region. In the winter of the same year, base areas were established in more than 10 counties. In November a Worker-Peasant-Soldier Congress of the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region was held in Liyuanbao, and the soviet government of the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region was formally inaugurated, with Comrade Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 8113] as chairman. Meanwhile, revolutionary struggles in northern Shaanxi were gathering momentum. In 1932, guerrilla activities began in northern Shaanxi. In the summer of 1933 the Northern Shaanxi Special Committee headed by Comrade Ma Mingfang [7456 2494 2455] held an enlarged meeting during which it was decided to divide the area into four guerrilla zones and develop guerrilla warfare. The guerrilla forces soon became very active and won victories in Yanquan, Anding, Qingjian and Shenfu. Thus, small base areas and guerrilla zones were initially formed. In the spring of 1934 Comrade Xie Zichang returned to northern Shaanxi to unite the guerrilla forces in various counties and established the Northern Shaanxi Guerrilla Force Command Post. Guerrilla warfare developed vigorously in northern Shaanxi, and in August of the same year Comrade Zichang led the northern Shaanxi guerrilla forces to the Shaanxi-Gansu base area. The Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region Special Committee held an enlarged meeting at Yanjia Wazi [7051 1367 3173 1311], with the 26th Red Army and the northern Shaanxi guerrilla forces participating. At the meeting Comrade Zichang was elected political commissar of the 42d Division of the 26th Red Army. After the meeting the 3d Regiment of the 26th Red Army set out for northern Shaanxi under the command of Comrade Zichang to collaborate with the northern Shaanxi guerrilla

forces. They won many battles, and the northern Shaanxi base area was further expanded. Unfortunately, Comrade Zichang was wounded in the battle of Hekou [3109 0656] and soon died.

At the end of 1934 Comrade Zhidan and some others came to northern Shaanxi. On 5 February 1935 the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region and the Northern Shaanxi Special Committees held a joint meeting at Zhoujiannian [0719 1367 1306], Chiyuan [6375 0626] County, and the Northwest Revolutionary Military Commission and the Northwest Work Committee were formed. The meeting decided to appoint Comrade Zhidan chairman of the Northwest Military Commission. After the meeting Comrade Zhidan issued a mobilization order calling for the smashing of the enemy's second "encirclement," and he ordered the main force of the 26th Red Army to fight in northern Shaanxi. In the last 10 days of April the 3d Regiment of the 26th Red Army and the Anti-Japanese Volunteer Army arrived in northern Shaanxi, and under the direction of Comrade Zhidan they destroyed the enemy at Sierpan [1408 1422 3961]. On 1 May the 26th and 27th Red armies joined forces at Lijiacha [2621 1367 1479]. Later, at the Yujiawan [3768 1367 3494] meeting, the Frontline General Headquarters was formed with Comrade Liu Zhidan as commander in chief. Thus, Comrade Liu Zhidan was in command of two Red armies. Seizing good military opportunities, he fought constantly and destroyed the enemies at Yangjiagyanzi [2254 1367 0954 1311], Zhangjia Getai [1728 1367 8198 0669], and Dingxiage [1353 0103 8198]. He then quickly turned south to mop up the enemy. Through a series of victories he liberated Anding, Yanchang, Yanzhuan, Ansai, Jingbian and Baoan, altogether six counties, after destroying large numbers of enemy effectives and seizing huge amounts of weapons and ammunition. Then the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region and northern Shaanxi formed a solid block, and the second Guomindang "encirclement" was smashed. Thus the base areas were expanded to more than 30 counties, and the Red Army and the guerrilla forces also greatly swelled their ranks.

While the Northwest Red Army was vigorously developing along with the agrarian revolution, our party was undergoing a major disaster. Wang Ming's "leftist" line had led to the disintegration of the Central Soviet Area and the nearby base areas. After the failure of the fifth counter-encirclement campaign, the Central Red Army was forced to embark on its northward Long March. About that time the effects of Wang Ming's line were also felt in northern Shaanxi. In January 1934 a promoter of Wang Ming's line came to northern Shaanxi from Pingjin. He unreasonably upbraided Comrades Ma Mingfang and Ma Wenrui [7456 2429 3843]—who were carrying out the correct line of the Northern Shaanxi Special Committee—vehemently opposed the so-called "rich peasant line," and then vigorously pushed the land reform policy and theively "leftist" policy of eliminating counterrevolutionaries according to the Wang Ming line. In military affairs he favored "all-out attack," "position warfare" and "storming strongholds." Under the high-sounding slogans of "wiping out white spots within the soviet areas," he ordered the Red Army to attack strongly defended enemy cities and also recklessly labeled people

"rightist opportunists." Comrade Zhidan always attached great importance to practice and reality and decided on policies and handled problems in the light of reality with a strong party spirit. Therefore, he disagreed with this man and firmly opposed him. Comrade Zhidan sharply pointed out that what the man was doing was nothing new, that his was a "left" opportunist line which had long since been proved by the practice of the revolution to be harmful or a revival of the "Lisan line" (at that time the term "Wang Ming line" was still unheard of). Comrade Zhidan also sharply criticized this "imperial envoy's" work style as arrogant and conceited and said that he was opinionated and overanxious to be a leader and was forcing others to submit to his blind commandism. Harboring their hostility toward Comrade Zhidan and the others, the promoters of Wang Ming's line falsely accused Comrade Zhidan of being a "rightist." After some plotting they politically persecuted Zhidan and the other comrades in the so-called "elimination of counterrevolutionaries" movement. In 1935, as soon as the battle of Laoshan was over, Comrade Zhidan was arrested. The fate of the Red Army and the revolutionary bases in northern Shaanxi was then precarious.

At this critical moment the Central Red Army led by the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong arrived in Wuqi [0702 6386] Township of northern Shaanxi. The locally stationed army and the masses quickly reported to the Central Committee on the arrest of Liu Zhidan and a large number of leading cadres of the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region and northern Shaanxi. After learning of the situation, Comrade Mao Zedong sent Wang Shoudao [3769 7445 6670] and some other comrades to Wayaobao to help solve the problem. Soon the arrested comrades were set free. After we got out of jail, Comrade Shou Dao said to us: "You are all good comrades. The Central Committee has formally pronounced all of you not guilty." Thus the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong saved us and the northern Shaanxi revolutionary base areas. How can we ever forget our gratitude! Later, Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai personally received Comrade Zhidan. On seeing Comrade Enlai, Comrade Zhidan said with great warmth: "Vice Chairman Zhou, I was your student in the fourth term of the Huangpu Military Academy." Comrade Enlai said: "I know. We are now comrades in arms." Then Comrade Enlai brought him to see Comrade Mao Zedong, who cordially received him and kindly comforted and encouraged him. Later, Comrade Zhidan was appointed to such important posts as commander in chief of the Northern Route Red Army and commander of the 28th Red Army. In the spring of 1936 Comrade Zhidan brought his troops to the Shenfu area, where several battles were fought and won, and the Shenfu Soviet Area was reactivated and expanded. Then he turned eastward and, unfortunately, in the battle of Sanjiao [0005 0074] Township of Zhongyang County, Shanxi Province, he gloriously laid down his life on 1 April 1936.

Although Comrade Zhidan left us 44 years ago, his great quality as a proletarian revolutionary and his communist spirit are still fresh in our minds. They deserve to be remembered by us forever as good examples.

In his struggles to set up the Shaanxi-Gansu and Northern Shaanxi Red Army base areas, Comrade Zhidan was able to resist and fight Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line and to firmly uphold the party's correct line for many reasons. One of them, and I think the most important one, was that he was quite good at handling the relationship between theory and practice. He regarded theory highly and was good at studying, and the purpose of his studying was to apply what he learned in the solution of practical problems in revolutionary struggles. He was also good at interpreting Marxism-Leninism in the light of revolutionary practice and then applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Northwest revolution. After the failure of the revolution in 1927, the party Central Committee decided on the general policy of carrying out the agrarian revolution and armed struggle against the policy of massacre followed by the Guomindang reactionaries. Comrade Zhidan interpreted this general policy in the light of his own practice, summed up the experiences and deeply realized its correctness and great significance as a decision policy. While carrying out propaganda work among the rank and file of warlord Chen Guizhang he talked to us about this question on several occasions. He also admonished us of the need to strive for military power instead of having "tender feet" (which was then a figure of speech referring to those working behind the desks in the army), and he talked about the painful lesson he had learned from the great revolution. He said: "At that time I could have commanded a battalion or a regiment in the Northern Expedition, but this was forbidden by Chen Duxiu's rightist opportunism." He thus became the political section chief of a unit under Ma Hongkui [7456 7703 1145]. As a result, as soon as the "Wuhan Incident" took place, he was kicked out of the army. He added: "If I had been in command of the army, I could have started an uprising." While engaged in propaganda work among the troops in Chen's unit, Comrade Zhidan did not forget the peasants, and on many occasions he sent people to organize party members in Nanliang, northern Shaanxi, to establish contacts with the armed peasants and to form a revolutionary contingent. Later this contingent became an important force of the guerrilla units of the Shaanxi-Gansu Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army. He showed great interest in Jinggangshan and on several occasions said to us seriously: "We must follow the example of Comrade Mao Zedong and Zhu De and set up the same type of base areas so as to assert armed independence and launch guerrilla warfare." That was exactly what he said and what he did. The northern Shaanxi base areas were modeled after Jinggangshan.

Comrade Zhidan attached great importance to study and investigations and was good at thinking over problems. He was farsighted and broadminded and was an outstanding leader. In the winter of 1933 he drafted the resolution "on setting up the first, second and third base areas in the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region." According to this resolution, three revolutionary base areas were to be set up in northern Shaanxi, in the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region and in the Central Shaanxi Plain, so as to provide our army with more maneuvering room in mobile warfare and enable it to destroy enemy forces piecemeal. This was entirely consistent with

Comrade Mao Zedong's strategic thought. Before then the 26th Red Army had already dispatched Comrades Qiang Shiqing [1730 0013 3237], Wei Wu [7614 2976], Yang Zhongyuan [2254 0112 6678], Bai Xueshan [4101 7185 1472] and Wang Zhaoxiang [3769 0340 4161] to Anding, Suide, Qingjian and Shenfu to set up guerrilla bases under local party leadership. At the same time Comrade Zhidan launched attacks in the central Shaanxi and eastern Gansu areas, formed guerrilla groups in Heshui, Baoan and Qingsyang, and appointed Comrade Yang Qi [2254 3825] Second Route commander in chief. In central Shaanxi the 26th Red Army dispatched Zhang Zhongliang [1728 0112 5328], Wang Anmin [3769 1344 3046] and some other comrades to form the Third Route Headquarters for guerrilla warfare. After repeated struggles, these ideas were finally realized and favorable conditions created for smashing the enemy's "encirclement." The separate Soviet areas were then formed into a solid block, and solid revolutionary base areas were established.

Comrade Zhidan was a highly talented military commander. He could promptly seize a favorable military opportunity and then destroy the enemy actively, positively, flexibly and resolutely. In February 1934 Comrade Zhidan led the Red Army northward from Zhaojin, destroyed the civilian corps in Yaoqu [1202 2575], Xiaoshiban [1420 4258 2647] and Wulei [0063 7191] townships along the way, and pushed as far as Donghuachi [3639 5478 3069] via Zhiluo [4160 5012], Zhangcuyi [1728 2625 7531] and Heishuisi [7815 3055 1408]. Then, starting from Donghuachi and announcing a march toward Ansai and Anding as a feint, the army suddenly doubled back at Liujiabian [0491 1367 4269], Baoan County, and headed west to assault Linjiabian [5677 1367 4269] after bypassing Sandaochuan [0005 6670 1557]. Taking the enemy by surprise, he wiped out a battalion under Zhang Yingzhi [1728 1694 5347] in a single engagement and then destroyed another enemy cavalry company at Yaya [1509 4523]. This was followed by a new blockade of the enemy by cutting its line of communications with the west. On the following day a swift attack resulted in the elimination of two civilian corps in Yuanchengzi [0337 1004 1311] and Lijiaoliang [2621 1367 2733]. Then he led his troops southward and reached Huachi via Heshui. At that time the enemy was in hot pursuit, and before the enemy had fanned out the Red Army immediately took the offensive, using the 3d Regiment for a frontal attack and the cavalry regiment for an outflanking movement. The enemy was surprised, and two battalions and a mobile artillery company of the enemy were destroyed. After these victories the Red Army returned to Nanliang and then, after a brief rest and consolidation, marched south again to destroy the enemy forces at Huashizhuang [2849 2885 8369]. Thus, in half a month's fighting without rest the Red Army won nine victories, destroyed a large number of enemy effectives and captured huge quantities of weapons and ammunition. The enemy was terrified, while we waxed strong in the course of fighting. Comrade Zhidan could effectively direct military operations and win frequent victories because he was good at taking advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions and at uniting with all forces that could be united. Throughout his long struggle he always strived to win over the

local forces. If any of them were not dependable allies, such as the civilian corps in Jianzhuang [1696 8369] and Xiaoshiya [1420 4258 1509], he managed to neutralize them so that he could concentrate his whole force on the main target.

Comrade Zhidan had a strong party spirit, was strict about discipline and always took an overall view of the situation. Although located in a far distant corner of the Northwest, he was thinking of the entire party and the party Central Committee and the struggles in the other soviet areas. When the 25th Red Army arrived in northern Shaanxi, he was highly elated and enthusiastically organized the masses to welcome their comrades in arms and comrades. He also time and again urged everyone to learn from the 25th Red Army. When he heard that the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao were leading the Central Red Army to northern Shaanxi, he immediately proposed that the 15th Red Army Group go to meet them. Comrade Zhidan was the target of attacks on many occasions because of the erroneous lines, such factional feuds as "army rectification," and "anti-rightist" and "elimination of counterrevolutionaries" movements, but he always thought of the interests of the party and the revolution, firmly upheld the truth and took the interests of the whole into account, giving no thought whatsoever to personal grudges or personal gain. He was broadminded, upright and closely tied to the masses. This was how he won the respect of the army and the people in northern Shaanxi and enjoyed great prestige among the broad masses.

Zhidan died at an early age. He could not see the phenomenal changes brought about in our country under our party's leadership. How happy he would be if, now in the next world, he could still hear that our party, after going through numerous difficulties and surmounting all obstacles, is now leading the people of various nationalities of our country on the march toward the four modernizations!

9411
CSO: 4004

A HIDEOUS MEANS BETRAYS A HIDEOUS END

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 pp 31-35

[Article by Qin Naimian [6009 0035 0517], Qian Tengjiao [6929 7506 5754] and Liang Lumbang [2733 0243 6721]]

[Text] Qi Benyu, who hired himself out to Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk, was good at playing with words and killing people with his writings. In his article "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" published in the No 5 issue of RED FLAG in 1967, Qi Benyu launched vicious attacks on great Marxist Comrade Liu Shaoqi in the name of criticizing the film "The Secret History of the Qing Court." This constituted the most alarming frameup in the many literary inquisitions perpetrated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with the aim of usurping the supreme power of the party and state.

In this article Qi Benyu first of all used his method of incrimination that stood truth on its head and arbitrarily declared that the film "The Secret History of the Qing Court" was reactionary, while making further preparations for attacking and implicating Comrade Liu Shaoqi.

Marxism tells us that the appraisal of any literary or art work should be based on the main trend of the work, instead of on any triviality it may contain. The so-called tendency of a writer refers to the themes of his works or the political inclination of the writer himself. In appraising any work and its author, it is imperative to proceed from reality, seek truth from facts and carry out concrete analysis and study against an appropriate historical background. We should never replace such concrete analysis of a specific literary or art work with the practice of basing ourselves on ideas and definitions and quoting the author out of context. Lu Xun said: "I always believe that to rest our assessment of any literary work on solid grounds we had better bear the overall performance of the author in mind, take the work as a whole and judge it without separating the author from the kind of social background against which he has created his work." ("Complete Works of Lu Xun," Vol 6, p 344) In a letter to Comrade (Frijis Khan), Stalin also said that the value of a piece of literary or art work was "decided," not by "any individual detail," but by "its main trend."

The appraisal of the film "The Secret History of the Qing Court" should no doubt be conducted in this way. This film employed critical realist means and presented a relatively authentic record of a historical tragedy that took place toward the end of the reign of the Qing court. It centered on the contradictions and struggle between the reformists headed by Emperor Guang Xu and the diehard conservatives headed by the empress dowager, depicted a staunch and unbending Zhen Fei, who had the courage to antagonize the empress dowager, and an Emperor Guang Xu, who rendered support to the reform movement, and mercilessly exposed and castigated the diehard feudal conservatives headed by the empress dowager. It must be recognized that the main trend of this film is correct.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions." ("The Role of the CCP in the National War," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong") What were the historical conditions reflected in this film? The stage was set in the late 19th century, shortly after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. At that time China was becoming rather effete due to the treasonable policies pursued by the empress dowager and company, who betrayed and humiliated their motherland by signing several unequal treaties with foreign powers. In the face of a grave situation in which China was "being carved up" by imperialists, the call for reform in the institutions of the country, for strengthening its defense and resisting foreign aggression was an expression of genuine and aboveboard patriotism, while diehard conservatism, collusion with the enemies and a readiness to succumb to foreign domination were precisely expressions of out-and-out national betrayal. At that time the frenzied invasion and plunder of China by imperialists had aroused the furious indignation of the Chinese people; the rapidly growing Yihetuan Movement was dealing heavy blows to the aggressive forces of imperialism. To suppress the resistance of the Chinese people, the eight-power allied forces truculently started an aggressive war against China. At this juncture, when our national survival was at stake, should one have put national interests first and fought against foreign aggression to save the nation, or should one have remained indifferent? These two entirely different attitudes formed a clear dividing line between people adopting a patriotic stance and those a stand of national betrayal.

We all know that in literary and art works themes are expressed mainly through images created in such works. Given some analysis, anyone who has seen the film "The Secret History of the Qing Court" would find no difficulty in telling who among the main characters—Guang Xu, Zhen Fei and the empress dowager—were patriots (to varying degrees) and who was a traitor.

In the film, when recounting humiliations suffered by China, Emperor Guang Xu, as the representative of a feudal dynasty, sighed with deep regret, saying: "The Opium War was followed by the takeover of our capital by the Anglo-French allied forces. That forced his majesty, the former emperor, to escape to Rehe. Then in the Sino-French War we

had to cede France certain territories in exchange for peace. Nearly every such encounter has ended with China surrendering some of its sovereign rights and being humiliated. If we do not firmly resolve to work hard for a stronger China, we will not be able to prevent our country from being partitioned and swallowed." He gradually awakened to such facts and discovered that to get rid of his own position as a puppet and at the same time to make China strong it was necessary to adopt the proposal for reform. So he ordered that research be undertaken on ways of achieving modernization, new policies be introduced to attain this goal and steps be taken to beef up defense for the purpose of national salvation. He also decided to abolish the imperial examination system and set up schools to "train useful personnel for the state." As for defense, he decreed that "guns and cannons should be copied from Western models, the army should receive training" and "special efforts should be made to build a Chinese navy." He opposed the empress dowager's plan to divert funds earmarked for the navy to the construction of her summer palace. Guang Xu was opposed to repeatedly making concessions to the demands of imperialist aggressors. He said resolutely: "In such a situation we must be resolved and fight!" Could he have said something like this if he had wanted to betray the national interests? In fact, he was unwilling to see his nation being subjugated by foreign powers. Despite strong opposition from the empress dowager and others and the deep hatred they showed for him, Guang Xu secretly ordered Yuan Shikai to assassinate Rong Lu in Tianjin in the hope of regaining control of the troops belonging to the coastal provinces of Liaoning, Hebei and Shandong and then using these to encircle the summer palace and force the empress dowager to hand over power. However, Yuan Shikai informed against Guang Xu, and this plan was doomed. Leaders of the reform movement were also implicated and murdered. Another main character in the film, Zhen Fei, was a woman who had no power and was trodden upon by the empress dowager and her trusted followers. In spite of this, Zhen Fei was concerned with the future and destiny of the nation. She felt a great repugnance for the corruption and incompetence of the Qing court and pointed out sharply: "For so many years now the empress dowager has been such a despot and has been bent on having her own way. Her old and fatuous ministers are slavish flatterers who show no concern for the future of the state or the livelihood of the people. Every round of negotiations they hold with foreigners brings losses to our country. If such a situation is not remedied soon, it will be unbearable to think of the future." Her patriotism was also shown in her positive attitude toward the building of the navy and a stronger defense. She said: "To fight the Japanese we must have our navy." "The training of the navy is something that concerns all the people of our country, and I am one of them." "From now on I will save \$10 a day." She even urged her elder sister to donate money to the navy, and the savings boxes they installed for that purpose increased from 1 to 188. When she found that Guang Xu was not fully confident about the reforms, Zhen Fei encouraged him by saying: "To bring about the reforms we must make thorough efforts." When the empress dowager decided to make Kang Youwei, a prominent figure in the reform movement, the first target of her

attacks, the sharp-witted Zhen Fei was able to help pass on important information, despite the close watch which the empress dowager and her men kept on her movements. Later, paying no heed to her personal safety, she even stepped forward bravely and tried to persuade the empress dowager to "approve the new policies in order to insure a bright future for China." Finally Zhen Fei died at the hands of the empress dowager--she was forced to plunge into a well.

When the country was faced with calamities, the empress dowager took a stance entirely different from that of Guang Xu and Zhen Fei. She showed no consideration for the interests of the nation, was given to a dissipated and extravagant life and was concerned only about how to maintain her own rule. She squandered on her summer palace the sum of money originally allocated and badly needed to build a Chinese navy. She not only made use of imperialist forces to suppress the Yihetuan Movement, but also stubbornly stood in the way of the reform movement and conspired to kill Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao and their comrades. Even though Guang Xu kowtowed and despairingly pleaded, "Killing them means ruining our own country," the empress dowager showed no mercy and scolded Guang Xu ferociously: "I would rather ruin the country than set them free!" The author did not devote much space to her, but this was enough to depict the ruthlessness of the empress dowager.

Out of his counterrevolutionary political needs, Qi Benyu deliberately ignored the main trends of the principal characters in the film "The Secret History of the Qing Court" and leveled unwarranted charges against it. He alleged that the film "openly sided with imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary bourgeois class," "propagated national capitulationism and class capitulationism," and "presented the characters as extremely detestable slaves who feared, worshipped and were devoted to their imperialist masters." Qi Benyu even described Zhen Fei, who died a tragic death at the hands of the empress dowager, as an "imperialist agent." People cannot help asking: First, since Emperor Guang Xu intended to betray his country, why did he support the reforms aimed at strengthening China and beefing up defense, and why did he decide to "fight a decisive battle against" imperialism? Could there be such a strange method of "national betrayal"? Second, Zhen Fei, who had the courage to fight against the vicious and peremptory empress dowager, not only urged Guang Xu to usher in reforms and to try not to always fall in with the wishes of the empress dowager, but also donated money to the fund to build a Chinese navy in the hope of resisting aggression. Naturally, due to her class and historical limitations, Zhen Fei once cherished some illusions about imperialism; however, can we say that she was an "imperialist agent" because of this? Third, the diehard conservative wielding real power, the empress dowager, worked hand in glove with external enemies and pursued policies which were detrimental to China's national interests. She conspired to use foreign forces to exterminate the Yihetuan Movement. However, Qi Benyu made no mention of her crimes and, instead of criticizing her, intentionally

whitewashed her crimes. In confounding black and white in his assessment of these historical figures, Qi Benyu harbored malicious intent.

It is true that the film "The Secret History of the Qing Court" is not perfect. There were unjust and even erroneous aspects in its portrayal of the masses of people, with the author playing up the negative aspects of the Yihetuan Movement and belittling the historical role played by this anti-imperialist struggle. However, taking the film as a whole into consideration, such flaws and mistakes cannot hide the positive significance of its main trend. Anyone who adopts the attitude of seeking truth from facts and conducts a comprehensive analysis will not arrive at the conclusion that this film is a reactionary one solely because there are such mistakes and flaws.

After concocting the charge that "The Secret History of the Qing Court" was a reactionary film, Qi Benyu went on to stigmatize all those he had wanted to attack and frame with horrifying political labels by inference and the method of seizing upon one point and ignoring the overall picture. People who had spoken positively of the film were all described by Qi Benyu as "spokesmen for imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie." Qi Benyu alleged that such people "brazenly oppose Mao Zedong Thought and seek to realize a capitalist comeback in China," and so on. Comrade Liu Shaoqi and Comrades Lu Dingyi, Zhou Yang and Hu Qiaomu all came under such sweeping attacks and were mistreated by the literary inquisitions set up at that time. Even the film's scriptwriter, Mr Yao Ke, was labeled an "anticomunist, antipopular and reactionary writer." Mr Yao Ke has devoted all his life to cultural work and was once a good friend of Lu Xun and of Snow. He has contributed to the progressive cause of cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries, and his works reflect his patriotic thought. He went to Hong Kong in 1948 for professional reasons and did not "flee to Hong Kong" as alleged by Qi Benyu. The slanderous attacks against him by Qi Benyu were unleashed with ulterior motives.

In literary and art critique, Marxist ideas and methods should be employed to analyze and assess in a concrete way specific literary or artistic phenomena. The criticism of even unsuccessful works must be carried out with the best intentions. While pointing out the mistakes or shortcomings in a work under review, we must also affirm its positive aspects. To use a common philosophical term, this is called looking at things according to the theory of one dividing into two. This is a scientific Marxist method. However, the methods used by Qi Benyu were diametrically opposed to this. In criticizing the "Secret History of the Qing Court," Qi Benyu resorted to willful exaggeration, unfairly interpreted others' comments on this film and infinitely played up things to satisfy his own political needs. He claimed that "this severe struggle centering around the reactionary film 'The Secret History of the Qing Court'...is a struggle waged by the proletariat against any capitalist restoration. In the final analysis, it is a struggle that will decide who will win--socialism or

capitalism." What an amazingly "ingenious" inference! There is no denying that literature and art play a certain role in society, either promoting or obstructing its advance. However, such a role must not be blown out of proportion. In China's history, debates among people holding different viewpoints in literary and art circles have always promoted social progress and helped to create a thriving culture. The nature of literature and art is determined by the economic foundation and falls under the realm of the superstructure. Literature and art do produce certain reactions on the economic foundation, but exaggerating this reaction and claiming that this reaction is capable of destroying the economic foundation flies in the face of the commonsense of historical materialism.

In judging the value of any work we must take into account the attitude the masses of people adopt toward it and the kind of social effects it produces. Marx said: "The people have always been the sole judge of whether somebody 'qualifies for' the title of a writer." ("Debate at the Sixth Parliament of the Rhine Province (The First Treatise)," "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 90) Comrade Mao Zedong also stressed: "Very often it takes time to distinguish what is correct from what is wrong." (Mao Zedong, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Any appraisal of the film "The Secret History of the Qing Court" must also undergo the test by the people and the test of time. We cannot tell whether such an appraisal is correct and in line with reality unless its social effects have been tested in practice.

Anyone--be he an ordinary person or a leader--may express his opinions on a work even when such opinions are different from those of other people. According to the party's principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," we must carry out comradely discussions to seek common ground on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "It is therefore necessary to be careful about questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences, to encourage free discussion and avoid hasty conclusions." (Mao Zedong, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Debates must also be allowed among proletarian leaders without exception, because the democratic principle applies not only to the people but also to party and state leaders. Neither the ordinary people nor leaders are deities, and no one among them can guarantee that every word one utters is correct. Opinions expressed by anyone must be tested in practice. It is quite normal for the masses and the leaders to comment on literary and art works, and no one should ever impose one's ideas on others. There would be no cause for alarm if diverse opinions existed among leading comrades in the party Central Committee concerning the film "The Secret History of the Qing Court," for this would merely be a normal phenomenon. To prevent such a divergence of opinions from influencing society, Comrade Liu Shaoqi once discussed this with some responsible comrades from departments in charge of the literary and art fields. He said (in effect) that leading comrades of the party Central Committee, like anyone else, go to the theater and the cinema, and after

a show they say something about it. But such comments cause tension when they become known to others. What can be done about this? Comrade Liu Shaoqi suggested that from then on comments by leading comrades of the party Central Committee should not be made public in formal documents and should not be treated as formal instructions. He added that in this way people could act at their own discretion and decide for themselves whether to agree with such comments, while leading comrades of the Central Committee could feel freer in offering their comments. These sincere comments were aimed at preserving the solid unity among our leaders and at promoting the cause of socialist literature and art by encouraging the masses of people to air their views freely and discuss questions fully. However, in the early stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company cited these words by Comrade Liu Shaoqi to prove that he had "obstinately stuck to a bourgeois stand," obstructed criticism of the film "The Secret History of the Qing Court" and "openly opposed the instructions issued by Chairman Mao." Taking his cue from Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company, Qi Benyu viciously attacked Comrade Liu Shaoqi for all he was worth. Qi Benyu showed that he would be content with nothing less than the destruction of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Qi Benyu did not conceal his motive and laid bare their counterrevolutionary conspiracy when he wrote: "We must force the biggest capitalist roader within the party out of office and get him out of our way."

After standing truth on its head and seizing upon one point and ignoring the overall picture in his attempt to incriminate Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Qi Benyu finally resorted to fabricating charges against Comrade Liu Shaoqi. These methods of fabricating frameups invented by Qi Benyu were later frequently used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to persecute many others. Toward the end of his article Qi Benyu truculently raised 10 questions and flagrantly leveled unwarranted charges against Comrade Liu Shaoqi. In the form of questions and answers, Qi Benyu arbitrarily drew the conclusion that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was "a sham revolutionary and real counterrevolutionary" and "the Khrushchev sleeping beside us." At that time a considerable number of people who had been kept in the dark were duped by his florid rhetoric and were unable to see through his disguise. We now can answer all the questions raised by Qi Benyu in one brief sentence: All the charges against Comrade Liu Shaoqi were sheer slanders and fabrication. The 5th plenum of the 11th party Central Committee decided: To rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi and clear his name as a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary and one of the principal leaders of the party and the state. The plenum held that Comrade Liu Shaoqi "was loyal to the party and the people at all times over the past decades, devoted all his energy to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and made indelible contributions to China's new democratic revolution and its socialist revolution and construction." The decision itself has overturned all the unjust and false charges which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" leveled at Comrade Liu Shaoqi and has of course thoroughly exposed the true nature of the lies spread by Qi Benyu.

The dishing out of this article by Qi Benyu constituted a premeditated and very important step in their counterrevolutionary plan. Because the appraisal of the situation in the party and the country on the eve of the Cultural Revolution was contrary to fact, an entirely wrong and groundless inference was made, asserting that within the party there was a counterrevolutionary revisionist line and then that there was a so-called bourgeois headquarters headed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi. This led to the serious and distressing error committed by the party during the Cultural Revolution. By exploiting this error, the counterrevolutionary conspirators headed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" frantically persecuted veteran revolutionary cadres headed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi in an attempt to usurp supreme party and state leadership. Soon after the start of the Cultural Revolution, more and more proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, as well as party members, cadres and ordinary people, rose in opposition to these conspirators. In the incident referred to by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, that "adviser" of theirs and their followers as the "adverse current in February," several veteran proletarian revolutionaries stepped forward to expose the conspiracy to persecute veteran cadres hatched by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and that "adviser" of theirs. The courageous struggle waged by these veteran revolutionaries defended our party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and that "adviser" took advantage of the incident to cook up slanderous charges against several marshals and deputy premiers and to usurp the power of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. With this done, Qi Benyu dished out his "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" and had it published in RED FLAG, which was controlled by Chen Boda. How closely these counterrevolutionary conspirators managed to coordinate their actions to usurp supreme party and state leadership! On orders from these counterrevolutionary conspirators, radios and newspapers gave prominence to this article and spent days broadcasting, publicizing and lauding it. It was asserted that this article "has sounded the bugle for the general offensive against the biggest capitalist roader in power within the party and marked the beginning of a new and more thorough stage in the development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." From then on, attacks on Comrade Liu Shaoqi via the radio and the press escalated and began taking on unprecedented and dazzling proportions. The whole party and all the people of various nationalities in China found themselves experiencing a catastrophe, their only hope being "to hear a sudden clap of thunder at a seemingly silent moment."

Qi Benyu said in his article that "all debts must be paid." He put it so right this time. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" lifted a rock, only to have their toes smashed--they have been swept into the garbage can of history. To rehabilitate Comrade Shaoqi and clear his name as a great Marxist and our respected leader has long been a wish shared by the people throughout the country. This has now been fulfilled.

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UPHOLD PARTY LEADERSHIP TO ENRICH LITERATURE AND ART--A REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND ART IN GANSU IN THE PAST 3 YEARS

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[Article by Wu Jian [0702 1017]]

[Text] Gansu was a devastated area because of the sabotage by the "gang of four," and literature and art here naturally suffered untold disasters. Since their downfall, however, a profound change has occurred on our literary and art front. Last year the "Gansu Provincial Committee for the Evaluation of Literature and Art" was established, and, among the literary works produced in the past 3 years, some 300 have been selected as being of a high standard, in addition to the publication of six full-length literary works. The quality of literary journals has also shown remarkable improvement. To celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic our province staged the drama "Xian Incident," the dance drama "Flower Rain of the Silk Route" and the Beijing opera "The Southern Pillar" in Beijing, and it received a great deal of encouragement from the audience and the comrades of literary and art circles. Although these are but a few tiny buds in the "hundred flowers" garden of our motherland, they nevertheless indicate a good start for our province. Here I will briefly review our work in this field and the way we have developed literature and art under party leadership in Gansu during the 3 years of rectification of errors.

Emancipate the Mind and the Literary and Art Productive Forces

To emancipate the literary and art productive forces and enrich and develop creative literature and art, we must first emancipate the mind, break through the forbidden zones and unservingly implement the "Double Hundred" policy. This was the first problem to be solved in the rectification of errors on the literary and art front under party leadership after the downfall of the "gang of four."

Ice to a depth of 3 feet cannot have been caused by only 1 day's coldness. It has been a long time since Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that "theoretical authority" began to destroy our literature and art. Way

back in 1964 that "theoretical authority" had already created the "Waves in the Red River" incident and treated it as a serious political issue which called for a thorough investigation in Gansu. Finally, more than 1,000 people, including more than 30 leading comrades of the party, the state and the army, were implicated. Many comrades were brutally persecuted, and some of them lost their lives. During the Great Cultural Revolution the counterrevolutionary ultraleftist line was pushed with even greater severity. In Gansu, cadres at various levels on the literary and art front and many literary and art workers of high caliber were labeled "members of the 108-strong sinister gang." All the leadership organizations on this front were abolished, all the cadres were expelled and all literary and art works written after the founding of the People's Republic were criticized. A forbidden zone was created after each criticism. For example, after the criticism of the film "Waves in the Red River," further literary or artistic work dealing with the Shaanxi-Gansu Border Region was forbidden; after the criticism of the drama "Yue Fei [1471 7378]," further writing about history was forbidden; after the criticism of the drama "On the Eve of 26 August," further writing about the war of liberation in the Northwest was forbidden; after the criticism of "Young People From Afar," further description of love was forbidden, and so on and so forth. Hardly any literary work could avoid being denounced or attacked.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," should we criticize rightism or ultraleftism in the field of literature and art? This was then a question of universal concern. In the light of reality in this field, the provincial party committee unequivocally criticized the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," publicized the destruction and disasters inflicted upon our literary and artistic work as a result of this line, directed the spearhead of mass struggle at its pernicious influence and thus smashed the shackles it had imposed. Besides repeatedly criticizing the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in our publications and in every unit, the provincial and municipal authorities held criticism meetings and symposiums in which scores, hundreds and even thousands of people participated. Responsible comrades of the provincial party committee also participated in many of these meetings and took the lead in criticizing. In this way they laid the ideological foundation for emancipating the mind, breaking through the forbidden zones and rectifying the errors.

The redress of frameups and false and wrong cases was even more inseparable from emancipation of the mind. When the ideological and theoretical rectification of errors was just beginning, there were still no breakthroughs of the forbidden zones set up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Therefore, many obstacles were encountered in implementing the policy of redressing frameups and false and wrong cases. The "Waves in the Red River" incident, for instance, was obviously a case of a frameup; yet that "theoretical authority" was still regarded as a "revolutionary of the older generation." The drama "On the Eve of 26 August" was called

"an attempt to glorify Peng Dehuai," while another drama, "A New Chapter in Education" was considered guilty of "singing the praise of Liu Shaoqi," and both Comrades Peng Dehuai and Liu Shaoqi were still called representatives of erroneous lines. Again, the Gansu opera "Lake Fengluo [2800 3157]" was an "antiparty work" supported by Comrade Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 8113], and this comrade had not yet returned to work. The implementation of policy regarding these works and the rehabilitation of these authors would be impossible unless the mind was emancipated and all conventions removed. In view of this, the party Central Committee called for a complete and accurate understanding and mastery of Mao Zedong Thought and the restoration of the fine tradition and work style of seeking truth from facts. This action provided us with a powerful ideological weapon, and, under the leadership of the provincial party committee, any miscarriage of justice or mistake had to be corrected, no matter who had passed the wrong verdict or who would be involved. At that time we also advocated not only the rehabilitation of writers who had been slandered and attacked during the Great Cultural Revolution, but also the redressing of wrong cases before that time. For major cases, rehabilitation meetings were held, with some leading responsible comrade of the provincial party committee attending and making a speech. In some cases, even articles concerning the rehabilitation were published, and announcements of it were carried in newspapers or periodicals. We firmly adhered to the principle that the scope of rehabilitation should be commensurate with the scope of the injustice. Thus all frameups and wrong and false cases, totaling some 530, were redressed and rectified in the first half of 1979. As a result, every rehabilitation meant a breakthrough of the forbidden zone or the breaking of a shackle. This not only eliminated the fallacy of the "dictatorship of the sinister literary and art line" and the shackles of the ultraleftist line, but also greatly promoted the unity and growth of the literary and art ranks and emancipated the literary and art productive forces.

In the course of emancipating the mind we firmly upheld practice as the criterion of truth and were guided by this principle in summing up past experiences and in looking forward to the future. We also firmly upheld the four basic principles, implemented the "Double Hundred" policy and continued to develop an excellent situation on the literary and art front. In March and April 1979, "leftist" as well as "rightist" trends of thought emerged in society. When this wind swept the literary and art circles and some comrades had misgivings, we held a series of report meetings and symposiums, organized everyone to learn from the spirit of the third plenary session and stressed the unity of upholding the four basic principles and the emancipation of the mind. There had to be emancipation of the mind before we could firmly uphold the four basic principles; on the other hand, we had to firmly emancipate the mind before we could have a distinctive political orientation in upholding the four basic principles. The provincial party committee pointed out that the idea and method of using the "Double Hundred" policy only sporadically, or even as bait, were erroneous. We had to continue to emancipate the mind, criticize

the ultraleftist line and practice the policy of "opening wide." At the same time we had to strive to overcome some metaphysical phenomena and firmly adhere to dialectical materialism. When the "gang of four" were in power, metaphysics and idealism ran wild, and we suffered a great deal. We could never afford to encourage any idea or method of treating all things in terms of the absolute or the extreme, which expressed itself in the form of either ossified thinking or ultraliberalization. We upheld emancipation of the mind only for the sake of accomplishing the four modernizations and resolutely resisted and opposed disorderly conduct in any form and the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" which might disrupt stability and unity, as well as any wrong tendency toward extreme individualism and liberalization. As a way of expressing mass indignation, we encouraged the writing of any work exposing the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and describing the injuries they had done to the people. At the same time we encouraged any work that inspired the people in their march toward socialist modernization, and we reminded the literary and art workers of their great responsibility to the revolution, the people and the society and of their need to take a serious attitude toward the effects of their own works on society, so that they would provide the people with the best possible "nourishment of the mind." Through repeated study and discussions and using the spirit of the third plenary session as our mental weapon, we finally succeeded in eliminating the interference from the "left" as well as from the right, though this interference had served to temper all of us. The emancipation of our minds and the implementation of the "Double Hundred" policy developed in the correct direction and in a healthy manner.

Build a Literary and Art Contingent and United Leading Bodies of Experts

After the beginning of the new Long March, the party Central Committee held that literature and art should play a glorious role in serving socialist modernization. The provincial party committee immediately reacted with its great concern for the organizational building of the literary and art contingent. In this connection, we regarded the building of leading bodies at various levels—leading bodies of experts that are united and capable of shouldering the heavy responsibility for the new Long March—as an important link in the redress of wrongs, so that implementation of the party's line on literature and art could be insured.

We needed experts for our undertaking in literature and art as much as we did in any undertaking. Using "laymen to lead experts" as a pretext to promote their cultural despotism, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" accused people of taking "the expert line" and "putting vocational work in command" and brutally attacked them. As a result, many experts in literature and art were either wantonly persecuted or forced to step aside for a long time. In the organizational building of leading bodies at various levels we completely overhauled those formerly set up by the Gansu agent of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," which were characterized

by "mixing sands," "seizing power" and "exercising dictatorship," and promoted to leading positions a number of young and middle-aged cadres with experience in literary and art creation. The leading members of the provincial Cultural Bureau and the provincial League of Writers were basically veteran literary and art comrades. In carrying out their administrative work in this field they knew how to protect and train talented people and they worked hard to develop literature and art as their undertaking. In providing leadership for creative work they knew the laws of literary and art creation and were willing to share every weal and woe with the literary and art workers. They were also keen on artistic innovation. Practice has proved that a leading body of experts always has a strong vocational dedication and is able to take the heavy responsibility of preserving and enriching socialist literature and art.

We were even more concerned about building a united leading body. A leading body, though formed of experts, must work in harmony before there can be stability and unity. There were external as well as internal wounds in our ranks. For various historical reasons, some personal grudges and private feuds, as well as a certain unhealthy tendency, had existed among the comrades for a long time. When they were the victims of the "gang of four's" persecution, they all struggled for a common cause; now that this contradiction had been resolved, problems about stability and unity again cropped up among them. If due attention were not paid to unity in a leading body, the development of its undertaking would be adversely affected. Therefore, in building leading bodies the provincial party committees promptly established the "three provisional regulations": First, a clear demarcation between right and wrong; second, the need for criticism and self-criticism; and third, the forgetting of personal grudges. Our purpose was to help everyone draw lessons from historical experiences and to urge them to be concerned with the overall situation and to unite to work for the cause of literature and art instead of nagging at individual old scores.

After the establishment of some new leading bodies, some people positively predicted "civil wars" and asserted that we "could not give any outstanding performance." In a negative way, this reminded us that our primary concern was the need to build united leading bodies. The first party organization meeting was held jointly with the newly established provincial League of Writers and the provincial Cultural Bureau. The only topic of discussion was unity and the need to look ahead in order to struggle for the common cause of literature and art throughout the province. It clearly defined the roles of the League of Writers and the Cultural Bureau in our province as the two wheels of a pushcart and the two wings of a bird, calling for unity and close coordination. The leading cadres were specially charged with the duty of preserving unity as they would preserve their eyesight, and it was stressed that their failure in this respect would mean the turning of artistic differences into political issues. We have had many lessons of this type. Thus, we advocated friendly discussions in a comradely fashion and the principle

of drawing on the strong points of some to make up for the weak points of others. At the meeting everyone carried out criticism and self-criticism and freely aired his views. All recalled how Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their cohorts "said nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back" and thus brought us great disasters and misery; they felt that such a pernicious influence should never be permitted to continue its destructive role against our undertaking in literature and art. In redressing wrongs there must first be stability and unity, and the leading members should set personal examples in this respect. Although individually weak, we should be able to achieve something if we all united as one and exerted our efforts in the same direction. Without unity, therefore, our strength would be divided and nothing could be accomplished. With this ideological guidance during the past several years, everyone concentrated his energies on his vocation. The unity and cooperation between the League of Writers and the Cultural Bureau, as shown by their common concern for the overall situation, their mutual respect, support and assistance and their individual contributions, did achieve something. Stability and unity in these two units thus ended the situation of "incessant civil wars" on the literature and art front. The unity of leading bodies at various levels led to the unity of the entire literary and art contingent. With the exception of some individual units and individual persons, militant unity and liveliness now exists among the various literary and art groups and departments and between the new and the old cadres.

Guide Literary and Artistic Creation According to the Laws of Literature and Art

Under our party leadership, people could not help thinking of the fine traditions of the past. Despite numerous difficulties under the White Terror and during the years of fighting, the literary and art workers defied all dangers and advanced wave upon wave with the lofty aspiration of living up to the people's expectations. Their achievements on the literature and art front form a stirring chapter in the history of the Chinese revolution. At that time the party showed great concern for the literary and art contingent and did everything possible for them as regards ideology as well as daily living. The jailing of people and the implication of their relatives simply because of the writing of a bad article were never heard of. It was only during the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that literary and art workers could very easily get into trouble. In those days everyone lived in constant fear and felt as though he were walking on thin ice. The party's fine traditions were totally destroyed, and there was no artistic creation or training of artistic talent to speak of. If the fine traditions of party leadership over literature and art were to be restored and developed during the new historical period, we had to develop close contacts with the masses, be concerned for the masses, have faith in the masses and support their spirit of artistic creation. We urged the leaders at various levels to continue their efforts to eliminate the restrictions and sources of worry

on the part of literary and art workers and to encourage these workers to plunge into a new struggle with renewed vigor so as to produce more beautiful artistic flowers. As long as they could produce good results, the provincial party committee and the provincial government were prepared to offer rewards in the form of honorable titles or commendations in documents or newspapers. The leading comrades of the provincial party committee frequently received the literary and art workers and encouraged them to undertake artistic creation and to continue to forge ahead. The literary and art workers also felt the party's warmth and were aware of its expectations; thus, they gladly took up their creative artistic labor.

Variety and creativity are the special characteristics of artistic production as a form of mental labor. In providing guidance to literature and art it is necessary to follow the laws of art and to give full play to the wisdom and ability of the writers and artists, so as to provide a wide scope for them to develop their creativity in such aspects as ideological content and artistic forms and styles. The leadership's responsibility here lies in the creation of a lively democratic atmosphere. The quality of art and its method of expression should be judged by the masses. The fruits of labor on the part of writers and artists should be respected and must not be arbitrarily negated, and no personal attacks can be allowed. Writers and artists, in the practice of artistic creation, may succeed or fail or even commit errors. In fact, some errors are unavoidable, and what the writers and artists should do is to draw lessons from these errors and nothing more. In this connection, Comrade Song Ping [1345-1627] raised three points: First, creation and staging need not be examined beforehand by the provincial party committee. Secondly, any opinion of the leadership should be voiced at the appropriate time. If there is any disagreement, the opinion should be discussed. Thirdly, if some problem occurs, the leadership should be the first to bear the responsibility. Any opinion, including that of the leadership, should be respected and discussed.

Particularly because theatrical art is a comprehensive form of art, a free exchange of opinions will stir up more ideas for the artist and help him strive for perfection. In the past several years we have felt that, as long as the leadership has correct ideas, the literary and art workers will modestly accept them. Our drama "Xian Incident," the dance drama "Flower Rain of the Silk Route" and the Beijing opera "The Southern Pillar" have all been through a process of refining. The creation and staging of these works were the result of common efforts and close cooperation among the leaders and the literary and art workers.

Leaders in literature and art should not only organize artistic practices but also participate in such practice and thereby enhance their own ability to correctly guide literary and art work. There is no doubt that all artistic works are the fruits of the writers' and artists' labor, while the leaders should be considered their comrades in arms who have shared their woe and woe. The Gansu drama "Xian Incident," for instance,

was created with the help of the provincial Cultural Bureau and the leadership of the theatrical troupe. On the portrayal of the leaders and in dealing with the question of highlighting the victory of the united front, the leadership and the writers and artists freely exchanged views, and the leading comrades of the provincial party committee also took part in the discussion of the script. Leaders of the Propaganda Department, the Cultural Bureau and the League of Writers all took part in the discussion and offered assistance in the portrayal of Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and Chairman Zhu De in this inspiring revolutionary historical play. The dance drama "Flower Rain of the Silk Route" was the result of arduous efforts on the part of the artists of the provincial song and dance ensemble over the past 2 years. Throughout the process from creation to staging, many leading comrades of the provincial Propaganda Department, the provincial Cultural Bureau and the provincial League of Writers joined the artists in work and in discussion. The writing and editing of the script, the choice of the main theme, the structure of the plot and the forms of artistic expression, such as the way to praise the good-neighbor policy of the Tang dynasty--then at the peak of prosperity--and its cultural exchanges with foreign countries; to portray the frontier military governor who carried out an enlightened policy; to depict the friendship between Chinese people and foreigners; to draw the essence and inherit the art of dancing from the religious Dunhuang murals; to use the suitable school of dancing as a means of expressing the typical national style, and so forth, were all decided after a joint study by the leaders and the artists and after repeated practice. At the same time, many other artistic groups also rendered valuable assistance. It is true that creative work has to come from the conception of the artists; yet they also realize that the enrichment of art cannot be divorced from the leadership's careful nurturing. "Flower Rain of the Silk Route" is the fruit of unity and common efforts among the literary and art leadership and the artists in our province.

So far we have taken only the first step in the new Long March by using literature and art to serve socialist modernization. Every success of ours is inseparable from the help and guidance of the departments of the central authorities concerned. We know that we are still not quite proficient and that a great deal of effort is required before our work can meet the requirements of the new age.

9411
CSO: 4004

HOW DO WE CARRY OUT THE WORK-STUDY PROGRAM?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 pp 40-43

[Article by the Changchun Municipal CCP Committee]

[Text] Since the liberation certain middle and elementary schools in our municipality have carried forward the old liberated areas' tradition of running schools by developing a work-study program. In the course of our practice we have continued to sum up our experiences and lessons, to eliminate interference from the "left" as well as from the right, to adopt down-to-earth measures and thereby to guarantee the healthy development of our work-study activities. At present the 3,621 middle and elementary schools under the jurisdiction of the municipal education system are operating a total of 1,501 factories and producing over 400 kinds of industrial products in more than 1,500 varieties, products for cultural life and teaching instruments. The value of the yearly output of these products amounts to 61,590,000 yuan, of which net profits amount to 14,841,000 yuan. There are 1,909 school-run farms with an arable area of 63,000 mu; their yearly output of grain is estimated at more than 18 million jin, and they have also planted 19,680,000 trees. At the same time they have also developed sideline enterprises such as raising pigs, deer, silkworm, bees, rabbits and fish and planting ginseng, herbs and edible fungi; their annual revenue in this regard amounts to 4,001,000 yuan. Revenues from these work-study projects in 1977 totaled 18,842,000 yuan, equivalent to 50 percent of the educational funds allocated by the state. Thus, the development of these work-study activities has played a positive role in improving conditions for carrying on the educational program, in raising the quality of education, in promoting educational enterprises and in expanding agricultural production.

The development of this work-study program in our municipality has by no means been a smooth undertaking. Before the Cultural Revolution there were some erratic and repetitious developments in our activity. In the 10 years when the "four pests" held sway we also suffered serious interference and sabotage. In the last few years we again encountered a series of ideological and practical obstacles. We have come to realize that whenever the municipal committee's understanding was clear, its attitude

firm and its management effective the work-study program was consolidated and progressed; otherwise the program suffered setbacks and losses. The key to following through on the development of this work-study program therefore lies in strengthening the municipal committee's leadership.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," and then in the process of rectifying and restoring order in the educational system, some people confused this work-study program with "running schools with open doors," propagated by the "gang of four," and therefore considered the former as a product of the ultraleft line. As a result, certain school-run factories and farms were prepared to close down, and even those departments and units which originally supported the program enthusiastically began to withdraw their support. Is this work-study program really a product of the ultraleft line? Should we insist on developing it? To solve this problem we have examined the history of the development of our educational enterprises under the leadership of the party and studied the relevant discourses of our revolutionary teachers. More than 100 years ago Marx pointed out: "Insofar as the children who have reached a certain age are concerned, education in the future will be nothing but a combination of productive labor and intellectual and physical education; it will be not only one of the methods for improving social production but also the only method for training men of all-round development." ("Das Kapital," "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 530) Lenin also said, when discussing comprehensive technical education, that we must acquaint the students with certain major production processes. Comrade Mao Zedong likewise pointed out that we must combine education with productive labor. We hereby affirm that developing the work-study program is consistent with the longtime teachings of these revolutionary preceptors as well as a fine tradition of our party in running an educational system; it is essentially different from "running schools with open doors." To develop this work-study program is to comprehensively carry out the party's educational policy; it insists on placing the main emphasis on study and effecting a unity between education and productive labor; its purpose is to develop educational enterprises and train men of all-round development in moral, intellectual and physical education for socialist construction. "Running schools with open doors," on the other hand, distorts and adulterates the party's educational policy; it negates the main emphasis on study and replaces it with labor; it promotes a policy of hoodwinking the people; and its purpose is to destroy education and ruin talented people. The view which ignores concrete analysis and confuses the two is both baseless and erroneous. On the basis of achieving uniform understanding, the municipal committee has fully affirmed the achievements of the work-study program, suggested concrete measures and enabled the work-study program to further consolidate and develop.

After the 3d plenary session of the party's 11th Central Committee, and along with the shift in the focus of our work, the task of the schools was shifted to a course of action centered on teaching and study. At that time some people again thought that work-study activities would

dissipate students' energies, cut into the time for studying cultural lessons and thereby affect the raising of the quality of education. In direct response to the rise of this problem, we dispatched investigation teams to go deep among some middle and elementary schools to carry out investigation and study; many vivid realities thus uncovered have enabled us to deepen our understanding of the great significance of the work-study program. Among the five counties within the jurisdiction of our municipality, for instance, the natural conditions of Nungan County happen to be most disadvantageous. But middle and elementary school education in this county turns out to be better run, and its quality is also relatively high. This county treats the work-study program as an important part of the school education program; more than 70 percent of its schools have run factories and farms. These schools, taking the students' ages and characteristics into consideration and basing themselves on the timetable prescribed by the teaching and study plan, choose to organize the students to participate in activities of studying industry and agriculture in a planned way; they thereby closely combine productive labor and education. This way, not only is the study of cultural lessons not affected, but the necessary material conditions are created for raising the quality of education. During the 5 years between 1972 and 1976 the work-study program earned cumulative revenues of 17,400,000 yuan; of this sum, revenues in 1976 were equivalent to 1.2 times the educational funds allocated to the county by the state. Of this year's work-study revenues, 200,000 yuan was used to pay the wages of teachers of people-run classes; 220,000 yuan was used to purchase desks and chairs, books, instruments and cultural and physical education equipment; 140,000 yuan was spent on winter heating; 330,000 yuan went for administrative expenses; and 570,000 yuan was spent on the construction of school and plant buildings. This revenue therefore served greatly to relieve the burden of the state, the collective and the masses and to develop educational enterprises with far greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Along with this investigation and study, we have also selected several key schools for detailed examination. Middle School No 104 in Changchun originally was a people-run school with poor conditions; but because it insisted on developing a work-study program to carry out the party's educational policy in a comprehensive way and thereby create beneficial conditions for training men of all-round development in moral, intellectual and physical education, the quality of its education has continued to improve. Today it has developed into a general middle school with fairly good conditions and a fairly high quality of education. Middle School No 6 in Changchun originally also was a school with rather poor operational conditions. In 1958 the teachers and students of the entire school began to work together to operate factories and farms, and they have thus accumulated capital and gradually improved their operational conditions. At the same time they have insisted on placing the main emphasis on study and have made arrangements for the students to study industry and agriculture in a planned way. In the course of productive labor they have made a point of strengthening the students' political and

ideological education and have tried to combine it closely with ordinary study, thereby turning the process of studying industry and agriculture into the process of training and educating people; this has promoted the students' overall moral, intellectual and physical development, and the quality of their education has thus been conspicuously raised. In the 1978 mathematics contest for the whole district this school won second place in the senior middle school group and third place in the junior middle school group; in the unified mathematics examination held throughout the province this school's average grade turned out to be 88.1 for midterm and 93.1 for the end of semester. This made it one of the schools showing the greatest achievement in the entire province. Meanwhile, along with the improvement of physical education equipment there was considerable development of physical education activities at this school, and the proportion of its students measuring up to the state's physical fitness standards turned out to be the highest among all middle schools of the municipality. It was appraised as an advanced unit. On the other hand, because of the influence of the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some schools in the earlier period wrecked the principle of placing emphasis on study and arranged too much labor for the students in their attempt to substitute labor for study; some individual schools even proposed the erroneous slogans "Turn the schools into production teams" and "Realize the goal of training with the plow and the shoulder pole," thereby causing the quality of education to deteriorate. As these schools deteriorated in this way, teachers wanted to be transferred elsewhere and students also became largely transient; this aroused great dissatisfaction on the part of parents and in social circles.

Practice is the only criterion for testing truth. Many facts convincingly tell us that good management of the work-study program can promote the development of our educational enterprises and benefit the raising of the quality of education, whereas bad management of the work-study program is likely to disturb a school's normal order and result in a serious deterioration in the quality of education.

To insure that our work-study program develops healthily and in the correct direction, we make a point of guiding the educational departments and the schools to firmly grasp the direction of serving the goal of study.

In arranging for the students to study industry and agriculture we must, in keeping with the requirements of our educational policy, insist on the principle of placing the main emphasis on study; we must guarantee both the time for studying cultural lessons and the time for studying industry and agriculture. We must strengthen the students' political and ideological education in the course of productive labor so as to help them gradually establish the labor viewpoint and acquire the labor habit, and we must do our best to coordinate their productive labor with teaching in order to enrich the content of study, enlarge the realm of knowledge and improve the students' ability to analyze and solve problems.

We must also associate teaching with the reality of production, strengthen education in productive technology and enable the students to master definite production knowledge and definite labor talents.

In planning production we must continue to increase the number of projects that directly serve the goal of study. During the recent period we made a point of focusing our attention on class aids in the trial-production of new products. In 1978 factories run by middle and elementary schools in the municipality studied and cumulatively produced more than 80 products, such as phonographs, movie projectors, slide projectors, small converters and the like. Following successful trial-production, 53 of them have already been put into regular production and listed in the provincial plan, and they make up 60 percent of the output of class aids in the entire province. At the same time, school-run factories also produced large quantities of cultural and physical education articles and student desks and chairs. This way of doing things not only reduced the outward flow of educational funds but, even more importantly, also armed the schools themselves; they began to change the initial way of running their programs from scratch, having only chalk and blackboard for teaching purpose, and eventually made a due contribution to the renovation of teaching.

In appropriating revenues we must guarantee that funds are used mainly for teaching and study. We have explicitly prescribed that more than 50 percent of the new income from the work-study program must be used for the improvement of conditions for school administration and in the service of raising the quality of education, and that it must be used mainly for the construction of school buildings, for additional teaching equipment, for the subsidisation of school administration expenses, etc. Some middle and elementary schools in the countryside have also used such income to solve the problem of wages for teachers of people-run classes. In the last few years the schools have also used more than 1 million yuan from the net income of the work-study program to operate various welfare enterprises in the service of the teachers and staff members; this has helped greatly to reduce the family burden of the teachers, to mobilize their enthusiasm for work and to enable them to concentrate their vital energies on doing a good job of teaching.

Most recently we have discovered that, while some schools did develop their work-study programs, they still lacked long-range planning; they thought of the work-study program as an expediency which needs to be developed when we face economic difficulties today but which will not require developing when the state becomes rich in the future. This is a rather general understanding, and it is also reflected among the cadres at various levels. We have listed this problem as an important item on our agenda for study at the meeting of our county (district) party committee secretaries and Education Bureau heads. We all think that middle and elementary schools represent a kind of general education and that they are charged with a dual task: on the one hand they must send

qualified students to schools at the higher level, and they must train labor reserve forces for society as a whole. From the situation in our municipality at present we see that only some 4 percent of our middle school graduates are admitted to institutions of higher learning; most students must participate directly in socialist construction. There is likely to be no great change in this situation for a rather long time to come. The development of work-study programs and the practice of combining education and productive labor can train the students to love labor, love the laboring people, acquire knowledge of production and master definite talents of labor from their childhood, so that upon graduation they can relatively quickly become dexterous laborers. Apart from this, in carrying out work-study programs the schools can be expected to run their factories and farms well; this can also create beneficial conditions for reforming the structure of secondary education. Since the beginning of this year, three ordinary middle schools whose original work-study programs were run well and which established the necessary conditions have been converted to vocational middle schools. Moreover, not a few schools have begun, on the basis of their original school-run factories and farms, to operate vocational classes in the fields of carpentry, masonry, farm mechanization, farm electrification and scientific planting. In a word, the work-study program is an important form for realizing the unity of education and productive labor and an important way of training men of combined physical and mental labor. Along with the gradual realization of the four modernizations, its far-reaching significance will become increasingly conspicuous.

To strengthen concrete leadership over work-study programs, the municipal party committee and the various county (district) party committees since 1978 have begun to set up their respective study-industry and study-agriculture leading groups, with secretaries in charge of education and culture serving as group heads. These groups in turn have absorbed responsible comrades from such relevant departments as planning, industry and communications, finance and trade, labor, agriculture and forestry, and culture and education to participate in the work. These groups have held meetings at fixed intervals to study the practical problems encountered in work-study programs and then helped solve them. In the meantime, the municipality and the counties (districts) have successively established companies of school-run industries to assume concrete responsibility for providing business guidance to work-study programs. In this way the various relevant concerns are organized so that they can shoulder their respective responsibilities for running the work-study programs. Departments such as planning, industry and communications, etc., have directly assigned to the schools the task of producing parts and accessories for certain factory and enterprise products, as well as the task of producing products in short supply in the market. They have thereby listed these tasks among the items included in local plans. This has led to a yearly increase in products from work-study programs which are formally absorbed into production plans. To raise labor productivity and give full play to the workers' role in helping and

leading the students as regards the latter's ideology, work style and technology, the labor departments have allocated to the school-run factories a definite number of stationed workers whose political thinking is relatively sound and who have mastered certain productive talents, and they have also listed them in the labor and wage plans at various levels. Where counties (districts) and schools have handled their work-study programs well, the financial departments have insisted on allocating to them the planned amount of funds; as for those counties (districts) and schools where the orientation of production was found to be correct, where there also was a future for the development of their products, but where there was difficulty in raising capital, the departments have also demonstrated positive support in providing them with capital. During these past few years the financial departments of the province and the municipality have provided interest-free loans totaling 1,580,000 yuan to support school-run industries; banks have also provided capital for some middle and elementary schools to run factories, to add equipment and to expand their production and have thereby assured the continued development of school-run industries. To strengthen financial control, the municipal Bureau of Finance and Bureau of Education jointly issued the "Temporary Regulations for the Management of Financial Affairs Under Work-Study Programs," which sets concrete requirements on 11 subjects, such as accounting items, format of accounts, management of fixed capital, etc. This served to close economic loopholes and to further demonstrate the need for strict, clear financial discipline. It also played a promotive role in strengthening and consolidating school-run industries.

Under the leadership of the party committee and educational departments at the higher level, the work-study programs in our municipality have achieved some results, but not a few problems still exist. For instance, such basic problems as supplies, production and sales operations have not yet been completely solved in the case of school-run industries. The level of economic management of some school-run factories and farms is still not very high; their efforts to combine education with productive labor are still in a groping stage. But we are determined to carry out the party's educational policy in a comprehensive way and to further grasp well our work on work-study programs so as to make even greater contributions to the development of our educational enterprises and the training of men of all-round development in moral, intellectual and physical education.

9255
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A STRUGGLE TO 'DESTROY THE OLD AND ESTABLISH THE NEW' IN THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC FIELD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 pp 44-48

[Article by Dai Lunzhang [2071 0243 1757] and Wang Zichuan [3769 1311 1557]]

[Text] The world is now at a turning point at which international economic relations are undergoing major changes. The vast numbers of developing countries are struggling persistently and arduously to destroy old international economic relations and establish a new international economic order.

I

The world has divided into two opposite extremes since the 1870's when the transition from laissez faire capitalism to monopoly capitalism occurred. By all sorts of economic and supraeconomic means, monopoly capital has carried out aggression and expansion abroad, controlled most of the world's resources, markets and wealth and formed a minority of affluent imperialist countries. The vast numbers of colonies and semi-colonies have been exploited, plundered, oppressed and enslaved. They have become places for imperialism to invest, produce raw materials and sell their products. They are economically very poor and backward. Lenin had categorized this sort of worldwide division into two opposite extremes: "Imperialism has created a new era and divided the countries of the world into two categories. One category exploits and oppresses the other. They are the minority. The other category consists of the weak nations which serve as their colonies. They are the majority." ("On the Work of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and the People's Committees," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, pp 286-287)

The colonialist and imperialist rule has resulted in an unequal and irrational old international economic order. The most essential and basic characteristic of this old order is the monopoly rule and ruthless exploitation of international financial capital. Lenin pointed out: Imperialism is "a world system in which a very small number of 'advanced'

countries practice colonialist oppression and tight financial control over most of the world's inhabitants." ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 733) The old international economic order reflects this "world system."

In the half a century or so since Lenin's death the international situation and balance of class forces has changed profoundly. Particularly since World War II the national liberation movement has been flourishing. The imperialist, colonialist system is heading toward collapse. In many parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America a succession of oppressed nations have achieved political independence. The political conditions which the old international economic order depends upon for survival have changed, and the political prerequisites for a new order have come into being.

But economically imperialism and social imperialism are adopting new colonialist policies to continue their exploitation and plundering of developing countries. They control the economic lifeline of the developing countries, plunder their resources, obtain high monopoly profits and shift economic and monetary crises onto them. They achieve this through economic and military "aid," direct and indirect export of capital, an irrational international division of labor, exchange at unequal values, international monopoly economic organizations (such as transnational corporations) and various world economic agencies under their control.

Imperialist monopoly capital still controls to a great extent the production of primary and manufactured products and the trade, finance, shipping and so on of many Asian, African and Latin American countries for long periods after they have become independent. For example, in 1973 the imperialist countries had 372 mining enterprises in Asia, Africa and Latin America which controlled over 90 percent of the output of the mining industry in these regions. In the major oil-producing countries of the Third World the 20 largest oil monopoly companies controlled 94 percent of their oil reserves, 70 percent of their oil output, 86 percent of their oil refinery capacity and 79 percent of their sales. A very large portion of the industrial production in the developing countries was controlled by foreign capital. The quantity of their exported goods transported by sea was over 60 percent of the world total of goods transported by sea, but their commercial fleets constituted only about 6 percent of the world total.

Under the rule of irrational and unequal international economic relations, monopoly capital can obtain high profits. For example, all the banana exports of Central America are controlled by transnational corporations. They set the monopoly prices. Consequently, the banana-producing countries' incomes are only 11.5 percent of the incomes from retailing. The transnational corporations enjoy the other 88.5 percent. In 1971 the retail price of bananas was US\$5.93 per crate, out of which the banana-producing countries obtained only about US\$0.70. Another example is that in 1972 the average price of Middle East oil in European

markets was US\$12.50 per barrel. Out of this the tax revenue of oil-producing countries was only US\$1.60, or 12 percent. The oil production cost was 2 percent. So 86 percent of the oil retail price went to the transnational corporations and the governments of the oil-importing capitalist countries.

The old international economic system constantly widens the gap between the world's poor and rich nations, with a resulting extremely irrational international economic structure. While the sixth special UN General Assembly was being convened, statistics compiled by the UN agencies concerned revealed that the industrial output of the developing countries, whose populations accounted for 70 percent of the world total, constituted only 7 percent of the total world industrial output. Their volume of trade in manufactured goods was only 8 percent of the world total. Their scientific research and development capabilities were only 5 percent of the world's technological capabilities. Their national incomes were only 15 percent of the world total. Their consumption of petroleum, iron, aluminum, tin and other minerals was only 10 percent of the world total.

In conclusion, although political situations have changed, the old international economic relations characterized by monopoly and exploitation have not radically changed. Many new countries still cannot free themselves from the shackles of their economically dependent position. Without economic independence, complete political independence and the complete transformation of their poor and backward conditions are impossible. Therefore, the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism are developing deep into the international economic field, becoming an inevitable trend of historical development.

II

After World War II the developing countries began to struggle to establish new international economic relations. The Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations held in 1954 solemnly proclaimed: International political and economic relations should be built on the basis of the five principles of respecting each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. Subsequently the developing countries struggled persistently to control their own national economic lifelines, protect the ownership of their natural resources, improve the terms of trade and eliminate exchange at unequal values in the international markets. Thus, some organizations of raw material producing countries were set up. In the mid-1960's the developing countries gradually united, and the struggle entered a new stage. At the first and second UN trade and development conferences held in 1964 and 1968, respectively, the developing countries organized them into a "77-nation bloc" (whose member nations have now increased to 119). They took united action to gain an equal status in the international economy.

During the 1973 Middle East war the Arab oil-producing countries reestablished ownership of their oil resources and assumed the right to determine oil prices. They also used the oil weapon and adopted a series of measures which as reducing output, imposing an embargo and raising prices. They protected their own economic benefits and rights, and in one respect they smashed the prolonged monopolization of the international economy by imperialism. In addition, they closely combined the oil struggle with political struggle. This marked the beginning of the new stage in the struggle in the international economic field. In April 1974, as a result of the developing countries' united struggle, the sixth special session of the UN General Assembly adopted the "Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" and the "Program for Action." These two documents embodied a series of rational proposals by the developing countries for changing the old international economic order, as well as basic principles of a new international economic order. In December 1974 the 29th UN General Assembly adopted the "Charter of the Economic Rights and Obligations of Nations." It stipulated the basic norms of international economic relations, the nations' economic rights and obligations, and the common responsibilities of the international community. The seventh special session of the UN General Assembly held in September 1975 adopted the resolution on "Development and International Economic Cooperation." It put forward some plans which were beneficial to the developing countries concerning international trade, development funds, international currency systems, technological transfers, industrialization and agricultural development.

The struggle to "destroy the old and establish the new" in the international economic field is essentially a struggle against monopoly, exploitation and the shifting of crises onto others. The present stage involves the limitation of the scope and extent of international monopoly and exploitation.

III

Establishing a new international economic order involves various international economic fields, such as raw materials, trade, funds and development. In the past few years, both within and outside the United Nations, the developing countries have launched a comprehensive struggle centering around these issues.

Safeguarding the permanent ownership of natural resources is a major issue concerning the economic independence and territorial integrity of Third World countries. Raw material production and exports are important sources of national income and capital fund accumulation of the developing countries. According to incomplete statistics, in 1973 there were 59 countries for which several major raw material exports accounted for more than 50 percent of the value of their total exports and reached a figure of more than 90 percent for 22 of these countries. Controlling the production, processing, sale, storage and transportation of raw

materials in their own hands can pave the way for their early extrication from poverty and backwardness. Therefore, following major victories in the old struggle, the Third World's struggle to regain ownership of raw materials has continued to develop. At present there are 22 organizations formed by raw material producing and exporting countries with over 80 members. Many organizations of raw material exporting countries have adopted such methods as raising export prices to safeguard their own economic interests. The raw materials conference of the developing countries held in Dakar in February 1975 resolved to establish a Council of the Association of Raw Material Producing and Exporting Countries. This council was to coordinate the activities of various organizations.

Improving the terms of trade is indispensable for raising the developing countries' status in the international economy. Before 1973 the terms of trade of the developing countries worsened continuously. If the price ratio in the exchange of exported primary products for imported manufactured products is taken as 100 in 1950, then in 1960 it fell to 75, and in 1970 it dropped further to 67. After 1972-73 the prices of primary products rose occasionally, and the developing countries' terms of trade fluctuated instead of declining in an unmitigated fashion. To steadily improve the terms of trade, the developing countries put forward a comprehensive plan for commodities and the indexing of prices. The comprehensive plan for commodities is a comprehensive method of solving primary product trade problems. The main thing is to set up a common fund to support the international stockpiling of various commodities and to adjust the relationship between supply and demand in international markets. This stabilizes the prices of those primary products which considerably affect the developing countries' income from exports. Price indexing means relating the price indexes of the developing countries' export commodities to the price indexes of commodities imported from developed countries. This is to keep the "scissors difference" from widening further. Since 1976 some progress has been made in establishing a comprehensive scheme for commodities, but the indexing of commodity prices has not yet been realized.

In the fields of currency and funds, the developing countries are opposed to certain developed countries' shifting monetary crises onto them. They demand the stabilization of exchange rates, the elimination of adverse effects of exchange rate fluctuations on trade and the maintenance of the real value of foreign exchange reserves. They are against a minority of countries' manipulating international monetary affairs. They demand the restructuring of international monetary agencies and the amendment of irrational rules and regulations, so that the vast numbers of developing countries may fully and effectively participate in policy formulation. They are against the inequitable methods of allocating Special Drawing Rights in the International Monetary Fund. They demand that consideration be given to the developing countries' shortage of foreign exchange reserves and their need for development and construction funds, and they

demand the establishment of a "link" between allocating Special Drawing Rights and supplying development funds, so that the developing countries may enjoy a larger share of the Special Drawing Rights. They also demand that new channels for the supply of funds be made available to help satisfy the needs of developing countries which are in difficulties. After several rounds of struggle, the International Monetary Fund in the past few years has established new financial facilities, such as petroleum loans, medium-term loans and trust fund loans. It has more generously supplied medium-term loans, export fluctuation compensation loans, buffer reserve loans, and so on. This shows that the developing countries have made some progress in expanding their sources of funds within the scope of the International Monetary Fund. Their subscribed quotas and voting rights in the IMF have also increased slightly. But on the whole their major proposals for restructuring the international monetary system have not been carried out. Also, agreements have not been reached on their demands that developed countries greatly increase their transfer of funds to the developing countries.

In the national economic development aspect, the second meeting of the UN Industrial Development Organization, convened in March 1975, adopted the "Lima Declaration and Action Plan for Industrial Development and Cooperation." One item was the "Lima target," which said that by the year 2000 the developing countries' industrial output should comprise 25 percent of the world total in value. In the past few years the developing countries' annual industrial growth rates have registered some improvement. The composition of various national economic sectors and of export commodities have changed to a certain extent. The relative importance of manufacturing industries has improved. Their share in the total world industrial output value has increased slightly, to 9 percent in 1978. But on the whole their progress has still been slow. According to estimates of the UN Industrial Development Organization, if the developing countries' industries continue to grow at the present rate, then by 2000 their share of the total world industrial output value will only be 13.5 percent, far short of the "Lima target."

The grave difficulties facing developing countries stem from insufficient funds and backward technology. The IMF market loans have harsh terms attached. Not only are the interest rates very high, but often some additional conditions are stipulated. Therefore, the developing countries' debt burdens are getting heavier. According to statistics of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the preliminary estimates of outstanding debts by 1979 was US\$366 billion, and the loans due plus interest added up to US\$60.2 billion. There are also many discriminatory and limiting customary practices in the international technology market which hinder international technological exchange, affect the developing countries' importation of technology and their full utilization and popularization of purchased technology, and therefore affect the raising of their technical and technological levels.

Naturally, some developed countries have gradually realized the importance of constructive cooperation with Third World nations and have taken some concrete steps in this respect in view of the realities of the international economy. For example, one party, comprising the 9 EEC countries, and the other party, comprising 46 developing countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific region (later increased to 57), signed a comprehensive trade and aid agreement, the Lome Agreement, in 1975. In 1979 the second Lome Agreement was signed. This effectively promoted their mutual economic cooperation. But on the whole, from the sixth special UN General Assembly until now, major breakthroughs have not been achieved in economic cooperation negotiations between the developing and developed countries. Now these negotiations have even reached a stalemate. The main reason for this situation is that the developed countries, especially the superpowers, have not given proper attention to many rational demands of the developing countries or even obstinately boycott such demands.

Of course, there are both external and internal factors affecting economic growth rates. In the same period some countries may develop rapidly and some more slowly. The same countries may sometimes develop rapidly and sometimes more slowly. This shows that developed countries must have correct general and specific policies to develop their national economies smoothly. Due to various internal and external causes, many developing countries have had very little or no economic development in recent years. The poorer countries with the lowest growth rates have populations accounting for more than half of all the people in the developing countries. Therefore, the prospects still reveal an ever-widening gap between the rich in the north and the poor in the south.

IV

In the current world political and economic situations the foundations of the old international economic relationships have been shaken and definitely cannot remain unchanged. First, imperialism's old colonial system has collapsed. The Third World is becoming increasingly awakened and strong. Politically independent sovereign states will not continue to tolerate unequal economic relations. Second, apart from the oil weapon, the developing countries have also converted certain raw materials and primary products from targets to be plundered into economic weapons. At the same time, since 1973 the world economy has undergone gigantic changes. After experiencing the gravest of postwar world economic crises, the Western countries' economies have entered a stage of sustained "stagflation." They are staggering and finding it difficult to advance on the tortuous path of two highs (high inflation and unemployment rates) and a low (low economic growth rate). If they lose the wide markets and investment areas of the Third World, they will suffer an even greater lack of places for activity and will find it harder to extricate themselves from their difficulties.

Facts have proved that the increasing interdependence of the economic development of various countries is the inevitable trend of world economic development. No country can develop in isolation, independent of external economic relations. In the past the capitalist world economic system developed by virtue of exploiting and plundering the colonies. Nowadays obstacles in the economic relations between the developed countries and the Third World may also cripple their economies. Even when the capitalist economies suffer from their chronic malady--economic crises--the developing countries' economies are supporting the West. According to statistics compiled by the EEC's committee, in 1975 the EEC's exports to the United States dropped by 17 percent. Its exports to the European Free Trade Association countries dropped by 3.3 percent. But its exports to the developing countries increased by 25 percent. In 1977 the EEC's exports and the United States' exports to the developing countries comprised 37.7 percent and 25 percent of their total exports, respectively. Judging from this, establishing a new international economic order is not only beneficial for the developing countries' economic development. It is also beneficial for the whole world's economic prosperity and accords with the interests of the people of all nations, including the developed ones. It is favorable to improving north-south relations and maintaining world peace and stability. There can be no doubt that, proceeding from the interests of all parties, the stalemate in international economic negotiations must be resolved.

In the process of establishing a new international economic order, struggle and cooperation are two inseparable aspects. The aim of struggle is to establish relationships based on really equitable cooperation. Without the struggle to "destroy the old and establish the new" in the international economic field, relationships based on equitable international economic cooperation cannot be established. To realize cooperation through struggle is the indispensable path to building a new international economic order.

The basic principle of international economic cooperation should be equality and mutual benefit. This must be observed by all countries in their international economic relations. The era in which a minority of countries monopolize international economic affairs and audaciously exploit the majority has gone for good. On the other hand, to place too much hope on the developed countries and to expect them to supply enormous aid unilaterally are also unrealistic. International economic cooperation in such forms as investment, trade, finance, credit facilities and joint production can have vigor and wide prospects only if it is founded on equality and mutual benefit.

At the same time, the developing countries must still make an effort to strengthen their capability for collective self-reliance. This is an important component in transforming the old order and establishing a new one. After long periods of struggle against colonialism and hegemonism and to establish a new international economic order, the developing

countries have become increasingly aware of the importance of strengthening unity and close cooperation. They have resolved to further strengthen their mutual economic cooperation in order to reduce their dependence on the developed countries. They have formulated common policies and taken concerted action in the north-south dialog to strengthen their own position in the negotiations. In recent years many organizations for regional cooperation have been formed in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and they have been performing increasingly important functions. The fourth conference of the 77-nation bloc at ministerial level, held in February 1979, adopted the "Arusha Program for Collective Self-Reliance and Negotiations," which reflects the developing countries' desire to strengthen their mutual cooperation to speed up development and "destroy the old and establish the new."

The developing countries' struggle to establish a new international economic order is reasonable and just. It is the tide of history in this era. "The mountains cannot stop the streams from flowing eastward." We believe that, however tortuous the road, the new international economic order will definitely break through all obstacles and will be established victoriously.

CSO: 4004

DISCUSSION ON THE SOLUTION OF THE URBAN HOUSING PROBLEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 80 p 49

[Selected letters from readers]

[Text] Editor's note: The problem of urban housing is an economic problem of great concern to the broad masses. Since carrying Comrade Su Xing's [5685 2502] article "How To Solve the Housing Problem More Quickly?" we have received many letters offering good suggestions as well as showing disagreement. This journal will continue to carry selected ones.

Letter from Comrade Huang Jianzhao [7806 1696 5128] of the truck convoy under the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee: In his article Comrade Su Xing proposed the full mobilization of the activism of the state, the enterprise and individuals to speed up the solution of the housing problem. I think that this is reasonable and can provide an orientation. Based on the actual conditions in our country (the shortage of state funds and the difficulty for most people to buy their own houses within a short period), my opinion is that we should give full play to the activism of the enterprises. In other words, the state should encourage the enterprises to buy houses with their above-quota profits from above-quota production. This is the basic method: The houses should be built according to unified state planning and organization of manpower for the construction, and the prices should include the cost and profit. The enterprise can use its above-quota profit (and the bank can verify that it is actually above-quota profit) to buy several blocks of buildings or several sets of living units with one payment as full settlement. The location should be close to the place of work, and the living units can be distributed by the enterprise among individuals on a rental basis at a rate set by the state. The rental collected can be used for house maintenance or for further housing purchases.

There are several advantages to this method: (1) There will be a quick turnover of funds, because the money will return, and with interest, as soon as the houses are completed. Thus, the faster the houses are

completed, the quicker will be the turnover of funds and the greater will be the profit. Under the present method, there is a lag of many years before investments in housing construction can yield any return. If we want to build houses in succession, new state investments are required. (2) It directly encourages the enterprise to strengthen its management, increase production, practice economy and improve the quality of its products and its attitude toward their servicing. At the same time it enables the workers to make their own contributions to the state and to enjoy their own real benefits. (3) It reduces the state's burden. The money for buying houses comes from the increased activism of the enterprise and is therefore a revenue which is not included in state planning. When the portion of profit to be retained by the enterprise is increased, it may appear on the surface that the state revenue has been reduced. However, if the enterprise's enthusiasm in making above-quota profits is aroused, state revenue will actually increase instead of being reduced.

Letter from Comrade Yu Renjun [5208 0086 0193] of the Zhenya [2182 0068] Silk Textile Mill, Suzhou Municipality: Comrade Su Xing said that there is no difference between a rented house and a purchased house. I think that there is a difference. Generally speaking, living accommodation is a kind of consumer goods and a commodity. Used either by the laborer on a rental basis or by the owner himself, a house is considered consumer goods. However, houses are different from food or clothing. In real life, houses are regarded as a component of personal wealth and a form of savings deposit.

During the remolding of rented houses in the 1950's those rented out were gradually transformed into property owned by the whole people, while those used by the house owners were left unchanged. The houses thus transferred to public ownership and those built in the past 30 years with state investments, or transferred from private to public ownership in other ways, account for all the publicly owned housing at present. After the 1950's, private houses were limited to those used by the owners. Thus, publicly owned and privately owned housing constitute the total urban housing. At present the demand for housing by the urban population can only be met by the public and private houses. For example, if individuals can buy houses from the state or build their own houses, the number of private houses will increase, and the ratio between public and private housing in urban areas will change. If we fail to consider the different characteristics of public and private housing, then some time in future we will encounter a series of policy or legal problems regarding the right of inheritance, renting and purchase and sale of private homes and the right to occupy the land. These problems also concern politics, economics, social customs and other aspects. Therefore, we must first recognize the actual difference between public and private housing before we can work out suitable policies and legislation.

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